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Alia Entrusts Ahmeti To Form Nonparty Government

AU1012192191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Statement issued by presidential spokesman Bashkim Hoxha in Tirana on 10 December]

[Text] The government crisis our country has been undergoing since 5 December has been the focus of recent consultations between President Ramiz Alia and representatives of the political parties, trade unionists, intellectuals, and patriots.

At first, the president devoted all his energies to solving this crisis by reviving the agreement reached among the five parties in May, which led to the formation of the National Stability Government, or to forming a government on a new basis, in which the parties, without creating alliances, would allow their members to take part as independent ministers. However, this solution failed because no common view was reached among the parties.

Under these conditions, on the basis of the main constitutional provisions, the Socialist Party, which has a parliamentary majority, could have created a government on its own. However, its representatives did not accept such a solution, not wishing to revert to a single-party government. They proposed another variant that had been discussed among the five parties participating in the National Stability Government, the creation of a government of nonparty intellectuals.

This version was also supported by the majority of other parties and the trade unions, who stressed that the tasks of this government will be extremely urgent, involving obtaining food for the people, guaranteeing calm and public order, and preparing for new elections, which, in the complex circumstances that have arisen, must be held as soon as possible.

Concluding the consultations, President Ramiz Alia entrusted the task of forming a new government to Mr. Vilson Ahmeti, a former minister in the National Stability Government and a nonparty intellectual.

ATA Profiles Ahmeti

AU1012201191 Tirana ATA in English 1928 GMT 10 Dec 91

["Brief Biography of Vilson Ahmeti"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 10 (ATA)—He is born in the town of Fier on September 5, 1951. He was graduated from the Tirana University in the year 1973 as mechanical engineer. At first he worked as engineer in the vehicles workshop in Tirana during 1973-1978 period. From 1978 to the year 1987 he worked in the sector of foreign trade, Makina-Import Enterprise. In 1987 he is appointed deputy minister of food industry, whereas in 1991 is appointed minister of nutrition at the Stability Government. He speaks English and Italian.

Agron Cobani Appointed Radio-TV General Director

AU0712214191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] The Managing Council of Albanian Radio-Television [RTVSh], approved by the People's Assembly under Decree No. 212 of 3 December 1991, met in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses this afternoon.

The Managing Council responsibly assessed the acute problems of the situation in RTVSh, connected with the difficult political, economic, and social situation our country is experiencing. Later, on the basis of the Law on the Status of RTVSh, the Managing Council approved in total unanimity the appointment of the following officials: Agron Cobani, general director of RTVSh and acting director of Albanian Television; Skender Bucpapaj, deputy general director of RTVSh; Bardhyl Pollo, director of Domestic Radio; and Mico Dhima, director of International Radio.

Independent Trade Unions Criticize Government

AU0812184291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] A declaration by the Independent Albanians Trade Unions [BSPSh] points out that the National Stability Government fell before completing its mandate. Regardless of the results it achieved, especially in foreign policy, thanks to the world's opening up toward us, this government did not carry out the tasks it undertook. It cast the entire burden of the crisis and the difficulties of the transition period on the shoulders of working people; it did not honor its commitment to our Trade Union; it did not renew the inherited bureaucratic state apparatus; and it did not establish public order.

In the situation that has arisen since the fall of the government, the BSPSh [words indistinct]. It asks the president and all the political forces for an urgent solution so that working people will not pay an unnecessary toll that will add to their insecurity and dim their prospects.

In any event, the BSPSh remains of the opinion that there can be no government that is truly in the people's interests without full democracy. We announce that, regardless of what political settlement is found, we do not in any way surrender our demands for wage adjustments linked to price rises.

Food Minister Interviewed on Bread Supplies

AU0612213191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Interview with Food Minister Vilson Ahmeti by Arian Melonashi; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Melonashi] Mr. Minister, one can see that people have been worried about cereals and especially bread in recent days. Where does the problem lie?

[Ahmeti] This is true. I can say that on the basis of the balance of cereals, especially wheat, in each district, wheat supplies for daily use and the necessary quantity of wheat for mountain regions have been secured. Of course, we are talking about normal supplies and normal demand. We are being supplied with about 1,000-1,500 tonnes of wheat per day by rail from Hungary. About the same amount of wheat is being distributed from the port of Durres, making a total of 3,000 tonnes a day, which is the daily consumption of our country, with some reserves for areas cut off in winter.

From our continual contacts with Hungary, Italy, and the EEC, we have so far been guaranteed normal supplies of wheat. We have studied the logistics of distribution, and follow shipment schedules at the port of Durres and the railroad station at Bajze.

[Melonashi] Does this guarantee relate to the period up till now, or will it continue in the period....

[Ahmeti] So far, the aforementioned quantities will ensure continued supplies, and ensure that there will be a reserve of cereals for between six and 10 days. Thus, alongside consumption, we can more or less count on a constant reserve for between six and ten days. At the same time, the flour and bread industry is working at maximum capacity, because a higher consumption of bread was observed. We are still supplying the market. Nevertheless, we have at the same time noticed general insecurity. There are attacks and attempts to seize cereals during transportation or in storehouses, flour mills, and bakeries.

Under these circumstances, I would say that we must show moderation and calm, protecting the cereals we have obtained with so much difficulty, and must be careful, because the misuse of cereals in this way would immediately upset the balance and supply of the market.

I wish to stress once again that the quantity of grain that is arriving and the reserves at our disposal guarantee normal supplies, but could not cope with massive abuse. It is therefore necessary for the entire country to be careful.

[Melonashi] Perhaps by avoiding the panic of the last two or three days....

[Ahmeti] Panic must be avoided, because one sees that people in a situation of tension buy more bread than usual, and this immediately creates a vacuum in supplies. At the same time, it is the duty of all authorities involved in distribution, from the pluralist district executive committees to the transportation, food industry, and retail enterprises, to tighten up their work and to work speedily, incessantly, and properly, with a greater sense of responsibility for cereal distribution in these difficult days.

[Melonashi] Thank you.

Armed Forces Law Reduces Service to 18 Months

AU0612111491 Tirana ATA in English 1055 GMT 6 Dec 91

["On The Draft-Law 'For the Military Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania']

[Text] Tirana, December 6 (ATA)—The newspaper "LUFTETARI" reports that the draft-law "On the Military Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania" which will be passed to the People's Assembly for examination and approval has been prepared.

This draft-law, the newspaper stresses, is worked out in conformity with the new conditions of the political, economic and social development. It is conditioned with the switch onto the market economy, the establishment of the rule of law as well as with the admission in the CSCE and in other international organisations, taking into consideration the hitherto experience and achievements, the requirements foreseen in the law "On the Main Constitutional Provisions" as well as the legislation of some Western and neighbouring countries.

As compared to the existing law, the said draft-law has profoundly changed in content, the newspaper "LUFTETARI" stresses. Likewise,the main duty of the armed forces, composed of the Army, the forces of public order, national information service and territorial forces, is to defend at all costs the freedom, independence, territorial integrity and constitutional order of the country. For them the homeland is sacred, its borders inviolable, the people's interests rest above everything.

A radical change relying on the studies carried out on the situation and perspective of the contigents for completing the armed forces, is the fact that term of the obligatory active military service be reduced from 24 months it actually is to 18 months, beginning with the citizens to be mobilised after January 1 1992. All the citizens of the Republic of Albania of 18 years (from 19 it was) to 27 years wherever they are, are obliged to undergo this service.

This draft law is divided in six parts: general provisions, military service, officers and under-officers, military evidence, the material and financial ensurance of the Armed Forces and some rights on the wages and services of the military men.

President Zhelev Views EC's Role in E. Europe

PM1012110491 Paris LE MONDE in French
6 Dec 91 p 5

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Sophie Shihab in Paris; date not given]

[Text] [Shihab] During your visit to Moscow at the end of October, you were the first foreign head of state to establish diplomatic relations with Russia. Your meeting with Mr. Gorbachev was canceled at the last minute. What were your reasons?

[Zhelev] We had no prior intention of signing the diplomatic recognition agreement; it was proposed to us on the spot and we agreed. We then concluded other agreements with Russia, by means of which all the difficulties which had existed for a year were smoothed over. Russia promises to give us 1 million tonnes of oil before the end of the year in exchange for food and canned products. That apparently did not please Mr. Gorbachev's administration, and he suggested postponing my meeting with him until the time when I was due to meet with Mr. Yeltsin.... Since then, our Socialists (the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], formerly the communist party) have written that it was a major diplomatic blunder but they are primarily worried by the fact that Mr. Yeltsin has promised to open up to the Bulgarians the KGB files on our history.

There are fundamental reasons for our recognition of Russia: The USSR no longer exists, as its leaders admit. But there are also "prosaic" reasons: Sixty percent of our trade was with the USSR, and four-fifths of that was with Russia. We also intend to recognize Ukraine on which our electricity supply depends, and Belarus and Kazakhstan....

[Shihab] And the Yugoslav republics too?

[Zhelev] From the start of the crisis we have made every effort not to aggravate it and we have even increased the degree of our Army's mobilization on the borders to avoid giving arguments to the most chauvinistic elements in Serbia who are whipping up the conflict. But we have recognized the right of all Yugoslav republics to create an independent state. We are primarily concerned with Macedonia: It would be very serious for Bulgaria if the Army intervened there, as in Croatia; there would be an influx of refugees into our country. I have said that Bulgaria is prepared to recognize the state of Macedonia, to cooperate with it in the broadest way; however, we cannot accept the existence of a "Macedonian nation."

[Shihab] You criticized Europe's delay in taking action in the Yugoslav crisis. What do you think it ought to have done?

[Zhelev] An embargo on oil and arms should have been decreed from the start and intervention forces should have been sent. It will all eventually be done, but this death and destruction could have been avoided. All our governments need European guarantees. However, the democratic powers have only acted in two cases—in the Gulf, because there was oil, and to support Yeltsin during the putsch because nuclear weapons were at stake. In the Balkans we have neither and nothing is done to solve the conflicts. This is not my view, but that of public opinion and it is very serious because confidence in Europe, which promised to create a mechanism for preventing conflicts, is being lost.

[Shihab] Has your visit to Brussels and Paris nonetheless been positive for Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Yes, because we will probably have associate membership of the EEC next year, like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. An EEC mission, which expressed a favorable view, is expected in Sofia on 15 December, and then the negotiations can start. In this sphere too our good relations with the republics of the former USSR are important because the EEC has agreed to finance their imports from former satellites. And we know the structure and needs of that market, the Bulgarians speak or understand Russian and can also act as intermediaries for the West. In Paris, Mr. Mitterrand told me that the Franco-Bulgarian cooperation treaty (similar to those signed with Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania—LE MONDE editor's note) could be signed before the end of the year.

[Shihab] What do you think of the advice given in the West to the former European socialist countries for them to start with regional cooperation?

[Zhelev] Of course, we do not reject that idea, we are prepared to participate in it, but we fear that it might curb our move toward a modern state; we are counting on Europe to lead us toward progress. Otherwise, it will be like recreating CEMA, a grouping of backward countries.

[Shihab] The October elections made your Turkish minority the support of the government formed for the first time by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] against the former Communist Party which has remained powerful. Is this a threat to the country's stability?

[Zhelev] The very small gap between the SDS and the BSP can be explained by the divisions of the democratic opposition: With proportional representation and a requirement of 4 percent of votes for entering parliament, almost 13 percent of democratic votes were lost. Therefore, two-thirds of the population are actually demanding rapid radical reforms, like the return of land to the peasants and privatization. But the country is still strongly polarized because of the inadequate reforms introduced by the previous government.

This does not mean that all former communists should be stripped of their responsibilities; we must not remove those who were not connected with former repression and who have abilities. The opposition lacks cadres and, after all, it did not just appear out of the blue. Fanaticism is very damaging and we must allow those BSP members

who still have illusions to see for themselves whether or not that party is capable of turning into a European-style socialist party.

The fact remains that virtually all the BSP propaganda consisted of playing on ethnic conflict, speculating, for instance, on the alliance between the Democratic Alliance and the Turkish Movement. Part of the BSP will probably continue to do so, but I hope that other, more intelligent sections will realize that this could end badly both for their party and for the country. Unfortunately, the Balkans give us an example of that.

Prime Minister Dimitrov Meets European Delegation

AU1012215391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Filip Dimitrov received a delegation of the European Democratic Union—an association of European Christian democratic parties. The delegation is led by Klaus Franke, member of the German Bundestag.

The talks held covered various aspects of Bulgarian economic policy, the problems of privatization, the chances of attracting investments to Bulgaria, and events in the Balkan region.

BZNS-United To Support Zhelev Candidacy

AU1012133291 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 4 Dec 91 p 1

[Staff report on session of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]-United Permanent Board in Sofia on 3 December: "BZNS-United Will Support Zhelyu Zhelev in the Presidential Elections"]

[Text] At the 3 December session of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]-United the decision was taken to support Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's candidacy in the upcoming elections for president.

Some problems connected with the agrarian unity process were also discussed.

The BZNS-United's Permanent Board discussed with great concern the political conduct of the so-called BZNS and the Future "Movement" and its representatives. After the political actions that this "movement" has carried out, it must be considered a body alien to the Agrarian Union.

The self-declared leaders of this alien body never informed the BZNS-United's Permanent Board of their intentions to hold talks with representatives of other political forces, and to enter into political agreements with them without even being empowered to do so.

Trenchev Explains Podkrepa Stand on Elections

AU1012101791 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by PODKREPA correspondent Milena Boyadzhieva; place and date not given: "Dr. Trenchev Will Not Vote for President"]

[Excerpts] [Boyadzhieva] Dr. Trenchev, did the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Executive Committee discuss leaving the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on 2 December?

[Trenchev] The issue of relations between a political group or party (in this case, a coalition), and a trade union, is a complicated issue. As you know, Podkrepa is one of the founders of the SDS. Afterward it requested the status of an observer.

[Boyadzhieva] Why did you request this status more than one year ago?

[Trenchev] Because one should not mix the various organizations' spheres of activity. Our goals could coincide or even be identical at certain periods in history, but our times are very dynamic and things change. Now that the SDS has won the elections and assumed power, we think that we should review our organizational affiliation with the SDS. We think that our status as observers does not correspond to trade union partnership to a large degree. In the overwhelming majority of normal civilized countries, the relationship between the political forces and the trade unions is one of equal partners, expressed in periodic consultations.

We think that the democratic process has advanced considerably in Bulgaria and hope that it has already reached the point of irreversibility. Under such circumstances, we can already relieve ourselves of certain political commitments and shift the focus of our activity to trade unionism. I must point out that this is an idea that will be submitted to the Confederation Council. This is the forum that will decide what our attitude toward a particular political group should be. Thus, the decision to support the SDS in the parliamentary elections was adopted by that council. [passage omitted]

[Boyadzhieva] Will the confederation support a presidential candidate?

[Trenchev] We face two alternatives—to support one of the candidates, or to refrain from committing ourselves. The opinion of the Executive Council, which will be submitted to the Confederation Council, will be to refrain from a commitment. This election will resolve an issue that is not closely associated with the direction of our activity. The election will not determine legislative power, and to a large degree, it will not affect executive power. A protocol post will be filled. We are not a presidential republic, we are a parliamentary republic.

If the Confederation Council decides to support our proposal to refrain from a commitment, our members will vote in accordance with their consciences, or will refrain from voting. I, for example, will not vote. I base this decision on the argument that the law on which the election is based, discriminates against many Bulgarians. For example, this includes those who have been forced to leave the country against their wishes. Many worthy people live outside Bulgaria's borders. Such discrimination exists hardly anywhere in the world, except perhaps in some banana republics or in the newly liberated African states. I know why this is being done, and think that the fear that King Simeon will present his candidacy for the post is totally groundless. In addition, there is discrimination on the basis of age. This active part of the population—up to the age of 40—has also been deprived of the possibility of standing in the election. You see, someone is afraid of the young people. But it is the young people who shape the new conditions and who are not burdened by the past. I do not know why the law contains this article that restricts younger people. Various explanations have been given, but I think that both of these articles show us in a very bad light in the civilized world. However, the Confederation Council could support a certain candidacy. In this case, we must do everything to promote that candidacy. [passage omitted]

Adviser Questions Future of Nuclear Power

AU1012120191 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 91 p 4

[Report by Simeon Bozhanov, presidential adviser on ecological issues: "Billions on Patching Up Reactors or Alternative Sources of Energy"]

[Text] After Bulgaria established Kozloduy, the biggest nuclear power plant in the Balkans, it also decided to build a similar nuclear marvel—the most grandiose in Europe—Belene Nuclear Power Plant. "Fortunately" perhaps, the cruel lessons from Chernobyl and the changes that came about after 10 November 1989 had a sobering influence on our megalomaniac ambitions.

Millions of leva, however, had already been sunk into "laying the foundations" at Belene. In addition, 40 percent of the cost of the first reactor's equipment had been paid to the Czechoslovak Skoda Company.

Many alternatives are proposed for the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant today: A shutdown of the first two reactors, and repairs on the third; to use only the fifth and sixth reactors; to make all the reactors safe, by having them functioning on "tick-over" [zatikhvashti funktsii] until a new seventh reactor is built, using the latest technology in this field, to take over gradually from all the others.

However, our scientific brains are still at the stage of alternatives. Are we thinking about when, from whom, and how a final decision will be adopted? Are we preparing to have a referendum on the fate of nuclear energy? We have already convinced ourselves that a decision on the future of this branch concerns the whole nation, (and also many other European countries). Even Bulgaria's Constitution says that the right thing to do is to seek the nation's opinion on the matter after all the pros and cons of the "peaceful atom" have been explained in intelligible language. Numerous democratic countries around the world have been using this course of action for a long time.

To a large extent, the future of nuclear energy must be determined according to the extent of the restructuring of our industry, the biggest consumer of electricity. However, we still do not have an official view on the strategic policy of the Bulgarian economy. It follows that we still do not know our electric power supply requirements. We are still not clear on whether we will abolish the subsidized energy consuming manufacturers, whether energy saving technology will be introduced, whether it is possible to use other alternative sources of energy.... All this shows that we need comprehensive economic and ecological expertise, in accordance with the social dimensions of the problem that will serve as a basis for developing a new conception for priorities for future development.

As a country, let us stop trying to plug up the holes and patch up with palatable measures. It is time to break with the practice of only resolving the problems of the day, and not the long-term ones. Many foreign specialists, hopefully with the best of intentions toward us, put forward a variety of noncommittal ideas for the future of Bulgaria, such as modern agriculture incorporating a food and tobacco industry, and local tourism.

It is inconceivable that we will shut our eyes and ears to something that will be the best for everybody.

With this series of problems, Bulgaria will logically work out a real concept for electric power supply development in the country. Then the billions that will be thrown into "patching up" the reactors, for the possible development of new and technologically better reactors, and for the reprocessing of radioactive waste, will be directed toward the voice of reason, and not toward the needs of the moment.

Dienstbier Denies Soviet Army Crossed Territory

AU1112084091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Dec 91 p 2

["mot"-signed report: "No Military Transfers"]

[Text] Ostrava—At a news conference in Ostrava on 7 December, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier commented on the report from the Soviet Army daily, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, reprinted in some Czech dailies on 7 December. According to this report, the first Soviet Army Western Military District railway transport crossed the German-Czechoslovak border near Bad Schandau on 4 December morning. Dienstbier said that no transport of either Soviet soldiers or Army equipment took place through Czechoslovak territory.

So far, no agreement on this has been signed between Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Germany. Documentation for such an agreement is only being prepared. The Czechoslovak side will not permit on principle any transport of soldiers or equipment through its territory prior to the signing of the treaty. If the aforementioned transport took place, it was within the framework of business agreements and was non-military in character.

Dobrovsky on Central Europe, NATO Cooperation

AU1012202791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky by Alexandr Kramer; place and date not given: "We Have To Hammer on the Doors"]

[Text] [Kramer] We are currently witnessing two processes. One is taking place at home—we could refer to it as the loosening of the federation; that is, some political forces are striving directly for its breakup. The second process is more general: The geopolitical landscape around us has become uncertain, doubts are beginning to be cast on the borders, and a new and powerful state—whose future ambitions we, at the moment, know nothing of—has even been established in our immediate vicinity. What is your view of these two processes from the security point of view?

[Dobrovsky] Something has already been said about this. Some Slovak politicians are scaremongering. They assume that a looser federation, as they call it, would not mean a more significant threat to Slovakia. I think the opposite is true. Moreover, I look at this issue in a broader context: By preserving our joint state on solid federative principles, we would provide a good example and thus contribute toward slowing down these not always comprehensible and sensible disintegration tendencies oriented toward creating one-nation states.

There are really no one-nation states in central and Eastern Europe. Wherever such states are discussed, their considerable ethnic minorities are ignored. The collapse of the civic principle, the breakup of territorial states and profound doubt about all the certainties with which we have lived since the end of World War I could be the outcome of this disintegration process. These certainties may not always have been the best, but when some people today try to rectify, let us say, the mistakes contained in the Treaty of Versailles by deviating in a disorganized manner from the principles on which territorial states were created in the past, they just cause new chaos. Before we could begin to recognize the newly established state units, we would need new standards for defining mutual relations.

[Kramer] The endeavor by the new democracies in central Europe to seek guarantees for their security in these uncertain times, under NATO's aegis, is natural. However, we have heard many times from this alliance's various officials and from our own representatives that this is not currently being taken into consideration. Apparently, the time is still not ripe. As far as I know, no one has yet said why. Why is the time not ripe?

[Dobrovsky] Sometimes people say: So that we do not upset the Soviet Union. But which Soviet Union? Mr. Gorbachev's confederation? Mr. Yeltsin's Russia? Mr. Shaposhnikov's Army? Or Mr. Kravchuk's Ukraine? Others respond to this why not question with a counterquestion: Why yes? Why should the West inconvenience itself about this part of Europe? If it were willing to guarantee our security, it would have to put considerable resources into it, and not only in the military sphere, because each country's security also depends on its economic stability. Why should Western countries even consider taking on such a burden? I will tell you why: Because the danger will not disappear by merely retreating from it. If the destabilization process is not halted in time, it will continue further toward the West. It is very dangerous to dismiss this.

As far as moving closer to NATO is concerned, we are not primarily interested in membership in this alliance. We have already said on many occasions—and the Hungarians and Poles have also said this—that we are merely proposing that NATO should, in our case, accept joint responsibility for the defense of those values of democracy, the law-governed state, civil liberties, and human rights, for whose protection it was, in fact, established. Of course, we must also contribute to this by constantly demonstrating that these values exist in our state. We are not always convincing enough in this area. We must orient our innermost efforts in this direction. Then we can indeed hammer on these doors. Not so that they admit us into some exclusive club, but so that this club realizes that we are prepared and resolved to defend the principles we acknowledge along with them.

[Kramer] How are we faring with our hammering?

[Dobrovsky] I think we are hammering quite a lot and rather successfully. However, political declarations—which are accepted with difficulty at times—are not the only measure of this success. Specific negotiations about specific issues can be more substantial. At the same time,

our partners are making it clear to us that we must expect a differentiated approach toward the individual countries of central and East Europe on their part.

Minister Ruml Claims KGB Agents Still Active

AU1112100591 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 91 p 1

["zr"-signed report: "Jan Ruml on KGB Activity in Czechoslovakia: 40 Percent True"]

[Text] The Soviet daily NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA yesterday published an interview with CSFR First Deputy Minister of Interior Jan Ruml. In the interview, which primarily concerned the activity of the KGB on our territory after November 1989, the Czechoslovak representative said that only about 40 percent of the information published by LIDOVE NOVINY about the KGB's responsibility for the destabilization of the situation in the CSFR in the last two years is based on the truth, the rest having been added by journalists.

J. Ruml said that they have evidence of KGB activities that utilize the previously established network of agents among the local population. The most dangerous of these activities, in his opinion, is the activity of Soviet military espionage bodies. This is because the Czechoslovak information system operates with the help of Soviet installations. Soviet espionage, therefore, has at its disposal the technical means needed to control our territory.

J. Ruml also voiced the opinion that the KGB participates in the dissemination of components of weapons of mass destruction, as well as some chemical materials, via Czechoslovak territory. In this connection, he mentioned that the intervention by CSFR Interior Ministry special units at the Ostrava-Mosnov airport [in August 1991] was also connected with this problem. In J. Ruml's opinion, some KGB collaborators who have been discharged from the state service are trying to obtain financial means in this way.

Slovak National Council Debates Economic Report

AU1012212991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 91 pp 1,2

[Stefan Hrcka report: "Report on the 'Price of Separation'"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Anton Vavro delivered a Slovak Government report on the state of, and the prospects for, Slovak economic development from the point of view of economic reform policy and with particular attention to property transformation. He emphasized that the Slovak economy is significantly influenced by its original state and by the problems encountered at the beginning of its entry into the transformation process. Anton Vavro described credit and revenue restrictions as the key issues in the transformation process. He maintained that the reservations against a restrictive policy are unjustified, because this policy contributed to stabilizing price levels in the second half of the year and toward slowing down the inflationary process. The Slovak deputy prime minister also stated that the process of writing off enterprises' debts is coming to an end. Fifteen billion korunas will be utilized in Slovakia to write off the debts of some 200 enterprises.

Vavro also discussed price increases. The imbalance between supply and demand and the three-fold devaluation of the koruna last year are the main causes of this. However, he maintained that the devaluation was justified, because this guaranteed the koruna's firm exchange rate. He ranked the deficient development of small and medium-sized private enterprise, an insufficiently active employment and requalification policy, and the inadequate entry of foreign capital among our economy's problems. According to Vavro, the roots of unemployment stem from the previous economic system. At the end of the part of the report dealing with the current state of the economy he said: "The economy should reach the lowest point of its decline in 1992 and should then begin to pick up again."

Vavro then outlined the Slovak Government's future economic policy priorities approved on 4 December 1991. Guidelines for guaranteeing our currency's stability, an anti-inflation policy, and a set of measures to gradually revive the Slovak economy are among the priorities. The deputies subsequently decided that the debate on the government's report will be held on 13 December.

A much-anticipated point on yesterday's agenda was the Slovak Government report on the economic consequences of the possible separation of the CSFR into two independent republics—the so-called report on the "price of separation" delivered by Vavro. [passage omitted]

A stormy and contentious debate followed Vavro's delivery of the report. Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party deputies and deputies representing the Hungarian parties supported it. Members of the Slovak National Party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and the Slovak National Democratic Movement pointed out that it is incomplete, that it formulates the minuses that would affect Slovakia following the state's break-up, and that it does not take other factors into consideration. [passage omitted] Christian Democratic Movement deputies hardly took part in the debate at all. When the debate came to an end, the Slovak National Council [SNR] made note of the government's report and, following a suggestion from Laszlo Asvaniy (Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles), decided that it considers this issue to be closed.

During the early evening, the plenum held an in-camera session and discussed a report on the results of the

activity of the SNR Screenings Commission. It was said in the lobbies that the screenings virus had not only wreaked havoc in the plenum, but also in the SNR Presidium. The session was then adjourned and will reconvene on 12 December.

Aggregate Budgets Show Surplus at End of October

AU1012194591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Dec 91 p 1

[Unattributed report in the "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY Chart" column: "Surplus of State Budgets"]

[Text] As of 31 October, the aggregate state budgets [of the federation, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic] showed a surplus of 8 billion korunas. The aggregate surplus was achieved thanks to the federal budget, which, according to preliminary calculations, was 11.8 billion korunas in the black, while the budget of the Czech Republic for the first 10 months of the year shows a deficit of 1.7 billion korunas and the budget of the Slovak Republic a deficit of 2.1 billion korunas. The Czech Republic is, relatively speaking, in a better situation because its budget deficit is lower than Slovakia's and also because the overwhelming part of the federal budget's revenues comes from the Czech economy.

[The above report is followed by a chart of two by two inches, based on Federal Statistical Office data, which shows the development of the aggregate budget surplus in the second half of this year. The table shows the following development of the aggregate budget surplus: 17.69 billion on 30 June, 13.05 billion on 31 July, 9.89 billion on 31 August, 11.44 billion on 30 September, and 8.0 billion on 31 October. The table also provides an aggregate budget surplus of "between 4.3 and 7.3 billion korunas" as the "expected reality" for the end of the year.]

New Agency Formed To Protect 'Economic Interests'

AU1012150491 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jan Sula, director of the Agency for the Protection of Economic Interests of the Czech Republic, by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "Economic 'Counterintelligence'"]

[Text] A new organization is being set up within the Czech Police. It is called the Agency for the Protection of Economic Interests of the Czech Republic. Its task is to gather strategic and operational intelligence for the Czech National Council, the government, and ministerial sectors. "The leak of economic information would be the worst thing to happen, and we would have to pay for it in the years to come," Jan Sula, LL.D., director of the Agency, said.

[Subert] People constantly speak about the leak of economic information. However, so far no one has pointed a finger at a specific case.

[Sula] It is very difficult to prove the fact and convict people. The core of the problem lies in the fact that leaked information does not serve our enterprises but foreign companies that use, and often misuse, it. To cite an illustration: Not so long ago, a very good analysis of the situation in one of our industrial sectors was offered for sale in Germany, for the ridiculous sum of DM 1,000. Dozens of Czechoslovak professionals at various levels of management—and also experts from foreign companies—are sitting at computers, feeding them with information, and sending processed files behind the borders.

[Subert] What will your Agency be interested in, and how do you want go gather information?

[Sula] An operational department, consisting of four sections, is entrusted with gathering information. These sections deal with financial matters, agriculture and food production and industrial production, information systems, and with protection against the activity of undesirable elements in our economy.

The financial section deals mainly with financial transactions, taxes and customs fees, privatization, and banking. The section dealing with information systems covers telecommunications, the entry of foreign capital into the mass media, problems connected with the brain drain from our research institutes, and the sphere of strategic commercial information.

[Subert] Let us imagine that you get on the track of a serious crime and discover, for example, that dirty money has been laundered....

[Sula] We would hand over such information to the criminal police, investigators, and the prosecutor. The Agency for the Protection of the Economy has been devised as an agency that specializes in information gathering. Our task is to investigate and document what is happening in the economy—who undertakes economic activity and with what intentions. We are expected to provide information on the real interests of various firms and to discover who is behind them. For this reason, the workplace will be equipped with a large analytical center, and each of its seven regional offices will employ a group of analysts.

[Subert] With a little exaggeration, we can say that your Agency is in the nature of economic counterintelligence. There is one logical question—Will you be able to work without agents and operational technology?

[Sula] It would be exaggeration to speak about counterintelligence. Nevertheless, it is true that we cannot work without operational technology. However, we are subject to the same laws as any other police body. It would be nice if we had some advantages, but only the Czech National Council deputies and legislative amendments can give us that. The problem of the Agency is very

sensitive. We cannot work without information acquired in the field. Recruiting agents and working with them in the State Security style is unacceptable. Links with our collaborators must be established on a strictly voluntary basis, and they must be in conformity with law.

[Subert] The efficiency of any information service depends on the quality of its personnel....

[Sula] Our Agency is being set up as a police organ, and therefore it should mainly employ police officers who specialize in economic crimes. The number of civilian employees should reach about 30 percent. Of course, it would be very difficult to hire highly qualified professionals, who are mostly employed by private firms and earn 15,000 or 20,000 korunas per month.

[Subert] Almost all your actions will involve money—big money, of course. A 100,000-koruna "token of attention" is a negligible amount for a firm having millions at stake. However, to a police officer, 100,000 korunas is still a fat amount. Do you have any protection against that?

[Sula] None of our people want a yacht or a new car every year. However, we must certainly provide a decent and stable standard of living for our people. Yet, they must be aware of the fact that if they let themselves be bribed, they can expect not only dismissal but also demotion, prison, and, above all, social degradation.

[Subert] Can you do your work already now?

[Sula] There are so many suspicious operations and activities around that the first thing we have to do is fix priorities. Despite this, we have begun working on our first cases.

Calfa Discusses 'Slovak Worst-Case Scenario'

AU1012151591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Jana Smidova; place and date not given: "We Mounted a Tiger"]

[Text] Recently, the Federal Government entered very vigorously into the constitutional dispute. It entered, however, into a muddled dialogue that often lacks any "rules of the game." Is this dialogue a true picture of the constitutional conscience? This is the question we asked the man who still believes in the common state's prospects. Not only because it is in his "job description."

[Calfa] It is hard to say. Obviously, we must be prepared for the eventuality that should the common state be preserved—and I firmly believe that it will be—the dialogue about a common state will gain in permanency. It will become an intrinsic feature of the political scene. It is a phenomenon in all composite states. It is good, however, that it is discussed.... A dearth of dialogue would be the worst conceivable alternative.

[Smidova] Many public figures participate in our dialogue. Which of them is closest to you? It is rumored that it is the president.

[Calfa] Definitely.

[Smidova] Rumors have it that you are a very loyal prime minister.

[Calfa] I have no idea what a very loyal prime minister is. So, I would rather say that the president's way of thinking, his conduct, and his personal values are very close to me.

[Smidova] Thus, the dialogue continues, but the representative bodies of both republics are discussing worst-case scenarios. Does the federation also have such a scenario?

[Calfa] We have other problems to worry about. I have seen one version of the Slovak worst-case scenario. It is not really the worst case. It is, rather, an outline of the cost that certain decisions would generate. As a matter of fact, this scenario and the Czech model (of which I have only secondhand information) are quite optimistic in their assessment of the impact the separation would have. I would draft a much worse scenario for separation. After all, it is not just sticking duty stamps on banknotes and the division of currency. A true division of a state that has existed for 73 years and is firmly entrenched in its environment would result in reverberations, the extent of which I do not dare to guess.

[Smidova] You have said a lot—particularly with respect to Slovakia and its relations to its neighbors, specifically the Ukraine—and you have been criticized for this view at home. Are we talking about personal concerns or about a state official pointing out risks that only a few people are aware of?

[Calfa] I maintain that the advocates of the idea of an independent Slovakia have no specific concept for the future. I do not know how they intend to deal with the economic problems and what their idea of international relations is. I am trying to find this out. I learned that it is good that I said certain things. One of these things is that the Slovak representatives consider Ukraine to be Slovakia's potentially greatest ally. Even Prime Minister Carnogursky said this. Of course, it is one of the alternatives, but Slovaks should be asked whether they agree to it, whether they as a nation of 5 million, consent to having a 50-million-strong neighbor in the east for an ally. I did well to stir up a hornet's nest, from which something is beginning to emerge.

[Smidova] Could you be more specific?

[Calfa] It is necessary to clearly state that the political orientation of the future Slovakia is being formed here. Slovakia, just like the Czech Republic or Czechoslovakia as a whole, has declared that it intends to join the EC economically, that it intends to accept the value standards of European democracies in a high degree of integration, that it intends to ask for the protective

umbrella of NATO.... Then, suddenly, the idea arises that the state should be divided. These are questions nobody answers; it is a hazard. Do I, as a politician, freely elected by the people, have the right to gamble with the lives of 5 million people? A person with a notion of responsibility would never do that. Hence, my firm stand.

[Smidova] Your questions are clear, but they come from Prague. Is there a political force that raises such questions in Slovakia?

[Calfa] Slovakia has reached the stage at which it is completely enthralled by its relationship with the Czech lands. I do not wish to offend the media, but some issues really are blocked by them. An image of a beautiful, socially just, dynamic, and democratic Slovakia is consciously and deliberately depicted in luminous colors—there will be everything, as long as we are not with the Czechs. I believe this to be a big mistake.

[Smidova] Bad things, however, do not only happen in Slovakia; development in the Czech lands has its darker sides too.

[Calfa] While we in Slovakia are registering strong social tension, the Czech scene is becoming very intolerant. Political groupings are unnecessarily and unhealthily controversial here. The division into right and left wings is becoming increasingly manifest, and, at the same time, it is not clear what is, and what is not, the right or the left wing. I do not understand, for example, why the Civic Democratic Party, spurns the People's Party, which nobody would call a left-wing party. On the left wing, again, blocs are formed that are unique in the world. This is not natural; I rather feel the need to label people and pigeonhole them somewhere. First, one looks at who is talking, and only then at what he has to say. I am frightened by the growing hatred I now observe in Bohemia. Precisely at this time, the culture of dialogue should be preserved.

[Smidova] If we look at the clear economic indicators and add the external pressures, hasn't the republic disintegrated a bit already?

[Calfa] The republic has not disintegrated, but obviously the power structures have. After all, this is what we wanted. We wanted the disintegration of the command and bureaucratic state. We imagined, however, that it would be a controlled disassembly. We mounted a tiger in Trencianske Teplice, and we now feel that much more is at stake.

[Smidova] Are you saying that there is more at stake than the future of Czechoslovakia?

[Calfa] Today, you can look at Europe from several different angles. In its western part, the forces are balanced and stable; on one side there is a socialist orientation, on the other a conservative orientation. Now, new players are coming to this traditional field, the posttotalitarian countries are getting ready for integration. There are obvious endeavors to attempt to get them into one or the other camp. We can see this now, that the big political parties are interested in the situation here and are beginning to support some groupings as it suits their interests. Of course, the situation in Bohemia is very different from that in Slovakia. While the national bloc, with socialist (not communist) tendencies dominates in Slovakia, it is rather the Christian-conservative orientation that prevails in Bohemia. If we add the fact that the worlds of Catholicism and Orthodoxy have virtually come together on our eastern borders, and with the secession of the independent Ukraine, the latter is undergoing substantial transformation, you will grasp the complexity of the situation. I do not even want to include the feasible idea of power play in this consideration. Europe, divided after the war, is now changing. The military blocs are disappearing, as did the iron curtain, and the cold-war iceberg has melted. I would be really disappointed if it were confirmed that the new spheres of influence will meet at the Morava river [near the Czech-Slovak border]. That would be a true catastrophe.

ODA Leader Views Consitution, Coalition Talks

AU1012200791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 7 Dec 91 p 2

[CSTK report: "The Civic Democratic Alliance on the President's Constitutional Bill Proposals; Coalition Talks With the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence party"]

[Text] Prague—The nationalist-oriented Slovak political clubs in the Federal Assembly do not show much interest in President Havel's draft constitutional law on the so-called ratification (subsequent approval that preconditions validity) of the federal constitution by the National Councils. Daniel Kroupa, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) made this statement at an ODA news conference in Prague yesterday:

"They are attempting to change it so that they can include the treaty between the National Councils as a binding document for the Federal Assembly," he added. He also mentioned that the ODA representatives consider the incorporation of the treaty between the National Councils in the constitutional law to be a confederative element. "If we did this, the expected constitutional bill would certainly be unacceptable to the clubs striving for the preservation of the federation," he observed.

Kroupa emphasized that the conduct of the Slovak clubs in the Federal Assembly also threatens the adoption of the law on a referendum. According to him, some political clubs in the Federal Assembly are attempting to strengthen the role of parliament in the event that a referendum is called. "Apparently, they feel that it is not

enough if only the Federal Government approves the presidential decision to call a referendum," he added. As Kroupa said, the method of calling a referendum acceptable to the Civic Democratic Alliance is one that gives the Federal Assembly the right to veto presidential decisions.

Kroupa confirmed that the ODA coalition talks concerning preelection cooperation with the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] are continuing in full intensity and that most probably a written agreement should be signed at the end of December.

Fur Meets U.S. Secretary Cheney on SFRY 9 Dec

LD1012160391 Budapest MTI in English 1636 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur held consultations with U.S. Secretary of Defence Dick Cheney today, who arrived in Hungary at his invitation on Sunday [8 December]. Later on, the sides held plenary talks in the Defence Ministry. Spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti, quoted Fur as saying to his guest that, due to the major political changes taken place here, Hungary must see to its sovereignty alone.

Hungary attaches primary importance to NATO, which is playing a major role in guaranteeing security in Europe and deepening political and military relations, the minister said. Concerning Yugoslavia, Fur said a dangerous situation had emerged which may last for a longer period of time. Although the armed clashes may come to an end sooner, he said, there are deep political conflicts between the sides.

Fur welcomed the changes in the Soviet Union but added they may entail certain dangers. Concerning Hungarian-U.S. relations, Fur recalled Hungary made it possible for the allied forces to use its airspace, sent a medical team to the region, and committed itself to the side of truth. He also recalled Hungary's recent intensified military relations with the United States.

Cheney said he came to Hungary to strengthen and deepen bilateral relations, especially regarding security policy issues. The United States supports NATO's endeavour for developing new-type relations with the East European countries. Cheney termed the Yugoslav situation as a particularly grave tension. The crisis alarms the United States first of all because of European security. In Cheney's view, the United States could make the most efficient contribution towards restoring peace through the UN Security Council. Cheney qualified the Soviet Republics, gaining independence as a promising process. Although there are some dangers, he said, it is reassuring some republics have committed themselves to implementing the international security policy agreements. After the talks, the sides signed a cartographic agreement.

Fur Comments on Talks

AU1112144791 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Zsolt Nemeth in Salgotarjan on 8 December: "Lajos Fur Discusses Military Policy Issues"]

[Text] First, we asked Lajos Fur about his talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, who is currently visiting Hungary.

[Fur] We met in the framework of the current Hungarian-U.S. relations, which can be described as excellent. At the talks, we are exchanging views primarily on general European security issues.

[Nemeth] The U.S. announcement that three countries in this region, including Hungary, will be able to purchase arms from the United States in the future elicited great interest. Will we make use of this opportunity?

[Fur] We will be able to purchase U.S. arms if we have money but, unfortunately, our ministry's financial resources are extremely limited. I myself do not know whether we can make use of this opportunity in the near future or not. In any case, it is clear that we need modern weapons.

[Nemeth] That means that there will be no arms purchase for the time being. However, one hears about Hungarian plans to play some sort of a "police role" in the area.

[Fur] Our National Assembly, the government, and particularly the Hungarian Defense Ministry do not have the slightest intention of playing such a role. Anyone who thinks this is a crazy dreamer.

[Nemeth] According to some rumors, Austrian-CSFR joint troops would participate in the peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia. Will Hungary also volunteer for such a task?

[Fur] It is possible that the Austrians and our northern neighbors can do this, obviously under the UN flag. However, we cannot go that far in this issue, and we must display a much more reserved attitude.

[Nemeth] We heard news about increased fighting in the area yesterday. Can one already see the limits of the Serbian occupational efforts?

[Fur] It is very difficult to answer this question. The fighting started on behalf of the Serbian minority living in Croatia or even in another republic, and it is impossible to predict today the degree to which they intend to extend this war.

Seized Weapons From Chile Destined for Croatia

LD1112115691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0630 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] According to a report in NEPSZABADSAG, the weapons of Chilean origin that were seized not long ago at Ferihegy Airport were ordered by the Croatian Government. The chartered Boeing wanted to fly to Zagreb but, when the crew learned that there was fierce fighting in the region, it asked Ferihegy from Austrian airspace for permission to land. The reason for the seven foreigners involved in the affair not being arrested is that they cannot be accused of arms smuggling because the cargo left Chile for Yugoslavia following a normal deal, in its own right. The sender was the Chilean military hospital. The cargo was seized by the Hungarian authorities and placed in a well guarded military warehouse.

[Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian at 0900 GMT on 11 December adds: "The Chilean Defense Ministry has acknowledged that the weapons that Hungarian customs officers seized at Budapest Airport probably originate from them. According to a communique on this, the weapons were part of a cargo that left Chile on 30 November. No details were disclosed regarding the senders, addressees, and transporters of the cargo. The revolvers, machine pistols, mines, and about 11 tonnes of rockets were presumably manufactured in the arms factory of the Chilean Army. By the way, among the seven suspects are a German, a Swiss, and five Yugoslav citizens, who are on bail awaiting trial in Budapest."]

General Economic Agreement Signed With Lithuania

LD1112051591 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 10 (MTI)—Hungary and Lithuania have a common interest in the intensification of economic relations and the increase of two-way trade, said Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, and Dienas Albertos, Lithuanian minister for the economy, at talks here today.

There are several Hungarian-Lithuanian joint ventures likely to become the driving force of bilateral cooperation in the late nineties.

The two ministers signed a general economic agreement designed to create conditions for market-type cooperation and further the development of direct company contacts.

Finance Minister Presents 1992 Draft Budget

LD1012185791 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly opened its debate on the 1992 budget today.

Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, who presented the draft, said that, contrary to numerous past predictions, the budget did not collapse this year. Revenue lagged behind those expected by 36 billion forints. This was due in part to parliament's decision of last year, when MPs [members of parliament] approved certain expenditures to the detriment of a growth in revenues. The budget deficit is expected to total over 100 billion forints.

The two priorities of the 1992 budget are to uphold external solvency and manage inflation. The burdens of the population will not increase next year, and deterioration of the living standard is also expected to stop. The country's debt burden next year will be 130 billion forints.

Kupa stressed efforts were made to create a realistic budget by moderating expenditures rather than by increasing revenues. Agriculture, education, culture and sport will receive heightened assistance.

At the end of his speech, Kupa asked the MPs to show moderation and to not increase the proposed deficit.

The majority of the parliamentary committees agreed with putting the draft of the budget to general debate. However four committees—Social Security, Environmental Protection, Cultural and Constitutional—did not advocate starting the general debate. The speakers of these committees argued that the estimates of the budget are insufficient for meeting the basic demands of the areas under the authority of their committees.

The debate is to continue on Wednesday.

Government Publishes 1992 Earnings Expectations

AU1012211791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 91 p 11

["H.L."-signed report: "The Government's Optimistic Prognosis—Economic Research Institute: It Is Possible To Do It This Way and Another Way, Too"]

[Text] According to the government's economic program for 1992—contained in the 1992 budget—living standards will stop declining, mainly because inflation will decrease, and the wages of employed people will more or less keep pace with price increases. People who lose their jobs will be in a rather difficult situation again in 1992. The number of unemployed will probably reach and perhaps exceed 500,000.

According to the plans, the amount of gross earnings will rise by 15 to 16 percent, but the average increase of gross earnings will be 21 to 22 percent as a result of a 5-percent decrease in the number of employed. Consumer prices will probably increase by 20 to 25 percent. According to the calculation of government experts, the level of real wages per earner will not change but remain the same.

A minimal, 0.5 to 1 percent increase in consumption of the population is stipulated in the 1992 plan. Gross savings were approximately at 145-150 billion forints in 1991 and they will reach 170-185 billion forints in 1992.

Following the moderately optimistic report, we telephoned the Economic Research Institute to see if their forecasts showed similar results. Mrs. Sandor Szabo, a staff member at the institute, told us that the institute made a similar prognosis. Nevertheless, she added, that all researchers knew that figures could be dressed in many ways and a lot depended on the presentation.

The forecast of the Economic Research Institute is more pessimistic, or if you like, more realistic. In contrast to the government's opinion, according to which consumption will rise to a very small extent, the Institute expects a further small decrease in consumption. This is explained by the fact that the population's spending is unsure, and there is a strong urge to save money. This is

partly justified by the fear of unemployment, and many people accumulate money for their new enterprises. Whichever way real earnings develop in 1992, in this respect, the position of employees will be characterized by very large and increasing differences.

The Institute does not fully share the government's expectations on inflation, either. As the Institute puts it, inflation, budget balance, and the balance of payments have to be taken into consideration together. It is possible that if the government strictly insists on a 20 to 25 percent fall in the value of money, then the two other pools of data will "burst."

MSZP Deputy Chairman on Interparty Relations

AU1012210791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 91 p 9

[Interview with Gyorgy Janosi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Government in a Nose-Dive"]

[Excerpts] "Only cooperation between the opposition parties could hinder the government coalition's efforts to concentrate power," Gyorgy Janosi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and parliamentary representative, told MAGYAR HIRLAP. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] To what extent does the MSZP feel isolated in the National Assembly?

[Janosi] This feeling keeps decreasing, and we primarily have the expert politicians who speak on behalf of our party to thank for this. Given that there is relatively little publicity in the committees, the representatives of the government coalition even allowed themselves, in the past, to respect socialist opinions. It seems that even at the plenary sessions, there is silence when, for example, [MSZP Chairman] Gyula Horn, Laszlo Bekesi, or Judit Csehak address the delegates. An increasing number of people are realizing that what these people have to say is important. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you think that your relations with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] might change in the near future?

[Janosi] In a perfect parliamentary democracy, it is natural for opposition parties to cooperate. In Hungary, the government coalition creates the impression that it has to tolerate the opposition's existence, and that the opposition does nothing but find faults. Under such circumstances, the opposition should have even more of an incentive to cooperate. Neither the relations between the government coalition and the opposition nor the system of relations between the opposition parties can be seen as acceptable. Indeed, we believe that only cooperation between the opposition parties could hinder the government coalition's efforts to concentrate power. It is a fact that we were able to converse with [former SZDSZ chairman] Janos Kis and [former SZDSZ faction leader] Ivan Peto on day-to-day political issues, and sometimes we were even able to reach an agreement. We do not yet know what the changes at the head of the SZDSZ will bring. We have our fingers crossed.

[Pinter] Could there be any changes in the rather cool atmosphere that marks relations between the MSZP and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]?

[Janosi] I can tell you that we have managed to reach fairly similar viewpoints on several issues, but we still find it easier to reach an understanding with the SZDSZ than with the FIDESZ. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Whose sympathies can the MSZP count on?

[Janosi] We feel sympathy coming from all social strata, but I think that it is mainly employees and part of the intelligentsia that support us—that part of the intelligentsia that is the most endangered, the middle class that is on a descending slope. We also enjoy the confidence of those who do not want to throw four decades of their lives and their country's life on the scrapheap without thinking. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you think that you could form part of a government coalition within the foreseeable future?

[Janosi] A party that states that it does not want to come close to power, or that it does not want to influence society's economic, cultural, and social life, is denying its own political nature. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you think that there are extremists in Hungary's political life?

[Janosi] There is both an extreme right wing and an extreme left wing. For example, I think that [Smallholders' Party Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan is increasingly building on the possibilities offered by the extreme right, but the danger is also growing on the other side. Part of society feels nostalgic about the last 40 years, and this offers possibilities that can be exploited by certain extreme left-wing ambitions. This phenomenon is not as spectacular as the right wing, but the signs are increasingly tangible.

[Pinter] What would the MSZP like to do to dispel this danger of a social explosion?

[Janosi] Our only chance is to make demonstration movements politically manageable, and this is only possible if the parliamentary forces and the democratic political forces in general cooperate. It is only together that we can find the right formula. [passage omitted]

U.S. Lifting of Arms, Equipment Embargo Praised

LD1012211791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Deputy Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz says the United States lifting the arms and military equipment embargo on Poland is a very good decision proving a certain assessment of our foreign policy and defense policy. However, Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that Poland is not planning to make such purchases in the United States due to budget restrictions.

Olszewski Announces 'Breakthrough' in Talks

LD1012173291 Warsaw PAP in English 1655 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10:—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski announced here Tuesday [10 December] that a breakthrough took place in his efforts to form a new government, and he hopes to complete his work on the composition of the government and his programme still this week.

Speaking to a news conference Olszewski referred to his two Tuesday meetings with the president during which the two "reached in principle agreement concerning the progammatic and organizational matters connected with the forming of the government."

President Lech Walesa will express his opinion about the composition of the cabinet only when he sees the complete list of candidates, Olszewski added.

During their Tuesday meetings at the Belvedere Palace Olszewski and Walesa discussed key problems connected with the political leadership of the government and the candidates to those ministerial posts for which Walesa, due to his constitutional powers, is responsible: the ministries of foreign affairs, of national defence and of internal affairs.

Peasant Alliance's Balazs on Coalition Talks

PM1112103691 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 3 Dec 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Artur Balazs, member of Peasant Alliance leadership team, by correspondent Mieczyslaw Kaczanowski on 30 November, place not given—Part Two]

[Text] As a member of the Peasant Alliance leadership team, Artur Balazs took part in almost all the meetings of the "Group of Five" coalition. He was the initiator and main architect of many of its decisions and resolutions. It was to him that the "Five" entrusted the delicate mission of conducting talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Below is a text of his interview with Mieczyslaw Kaczanowski, recorded 30 November this year:

[Kaczanowski] Presumably, the "Five" see you as a Democratic Union sympathizer. After all, you were, for a while, a member of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Caucus. Why did the Union lose in such a big way in the first stage of the government formation campaign?

[Balazs] I must make it clear that not only I, but the whole "Five," have been consistently open to cooperation with the Democratic Union and that we are still open to it. We must remember that the Democratic Union had the best results in the parliamentary election. However, we must also remember that this position does not give it any particular rights. Unfortunately, the Democratic Union assumed that it did, and I believe that this was its chief and most serious mistake, especially when it started to dictate terms.

The failure of Geremek's mission did not teach the Union leadership the lesson that it should. We in the "Five" group believe that the coalition should be extended to include the Democratic Union, in Poland's best interests. Its participation in the next government would be a throroughly desirable development. After all, the Union has a Solidarity pedigree and boasts a considerable intellectual potential.

[Kaczanowski] Do you envisage the participation of representatives of the Democratic Union as a whole?

[Balazs] We certainly do not intend to interfere in the Union's internal affairs; any remarks directed on behalf of the "Five" to the Union have always been addressed to the party as a whole. Conflicts—if any—between its individual factions are its own, internal affair, and it is not our place to judge them. In any case, I personally very much regret the fact that today the Union has no representative—not even a single deputy speaker—in the Sejm's and Senate's supreme authorities. This is not a satisfactory situation.

[Kaczanowski] Nonetheless, it is hardly surprising: After all, the "Five" hastened to "divide the spoils" immediately after their victory....

[Balazs] I must contradict you and affirm that this was not at all what really took place. The "Five" submitted their proposal for the appointments to the Sejm and Senate executive positions within the prescribed time, whereas the Democratic Union demanded that the position of Sejm speaker be reserved for its own representative, because they won the majority of seats in Parliament. This was why the talks on the subject ended in a fiasco.

[Kaczanowski] As far as I know, you were personally appointed by the "Five" to conduct talks with the Union representatives.

[Balazs] My negotiating mission came later: after the conclusion of the conflict, as it were—or, in any case, after the appointment of the speakers and the talks between Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. At that point, the latter refused to talk to Jan Olszewski, the candidate proposed by the "Five" for the post of

prime minister. That was when the crisis in the negotiations with the Union reached its apogee. It was then that the "Five" entrusted me with the mission of holding talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

[Kaczanowski] Judging by your personal negotiating skills and the history of your relations with Mazowiecki, you were the only person likely to persuade him of the need to continue the dialogue....

[Balazs] I will discuss this point later. It is worth remembering that I was entrusted with my mission following the president's refusal to talk to the "Five" and his decision to empower Wachowski—the secretary of state at the President's Chancellery—to maintain further contacts with them. Consequently, it was necessary to make a significant step toward cooperation with the Democratic Union if we were to give the president convincing proof that our influence and our contacts were not limited to the political groups constituting the "Five" alliance.

[Kaczanowski] And so you met with Tadeusz Mazowiecki....

[Balazs] The meeting was also attended by Piotr Nowina-Konopka, the Democratic Union's secretary general. [GLOS SZCZECINSKI on 4 December publishes on page seven the following correction: "The meeting was in fact attended by Aleksander Hall, not Piotr Nowina-Konopka"] It took place in the evening of the same day. Our talks lasted over an hour. It was a very good meeting. If only the subsequent course of events had followed the planned scenario, doubtless we could have reached an agreement between the "Five" and the Democratic Union.

[Kaczanowski] But that was not what happened.

[Balazs] At the time, all the partners in the "Five" group were genuinely willing to form a government together with the Democratic Union. In our talks, we immediately came to the question of Jan Olszewski's candidacy. The approval of his candidacy was one of the preconditions for the Democratic Union's participation in the government. When I asked Mr. Mazowiecki whether, in his opinion, Olszewski has the necessary qualifications to be a good prime minister, his lengthy answer certainly contained an implication that can be summarized as follows: "Well, yes, but he does not have the necessary knowledge when it comes to questions of economic policy and practice." To which I answered: "Mr. Prime Minister, you did not have the necessary knowledge, either, and yet you managed very well and you were certainly a very good prime minister." I said this with all sincerity, for that was my true judgment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's methods of running his government.

The prime minister's role is not to know everything there is to know in every field—which is impossible—but to represent the state's interests in the best possible way and to serve the nation well: to eliminate conflicts, to select the right people to fill the right positions, and so on. "In that case," I asked, "does Mr. Olszewski have the political qualifications to take on the role of premier?" My question received an unequivocally affirmative answer. This affirmation constituted an extremely important aspect of our meeting. I then proceeded to ask Tadeusz Mazowiecki the next question: "Will you agree to meet with Jan Olszewski?"

Of course, I did not restrict myself to asking that question alone in my conversation with Mazowiecki. Even before my meeting with him, I knew the answer he gave Kaczynski on this subject, which was that he would not meet with Olszewski until the president designated the latter as candidate to the post of premier. Well, we were keen to have them meet as soon as possible. I will not go on here to quote all the arguments I put to Mazowiecki in this respect; it is sufficient to say that he agreed to meet with Olszewski and that, as we know, the meeting took place the next day. The fact that it produced hardly any positive result is another question altogether.

Number of Laws Amending Army Affairs Reduced

LD1012210491 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Beginning today, instead of the previous 10 laws, there will only be one law in force amending Army affairs. The most important changes are: the introduction of five-year contract service, with the possibility of its being extended twice; only Polish citizens whose loyalty to the Republic, according to a clause of the law, is not subject to doubt may serve; the duration of basic military service, as has been the case up to now, is 18 months—it may be shortened by the national defense minister, but only Parliament may lengthen it; military training during higher education will remain in only two higher naval schools—the remaining students will reach the Army after finishing their studies for not longer than six months.

The list of punishments has been restricted, and service in the disciplinary detachment has been abolished; the duration of substitute military service has been shortened from 36 to 24 months and to nine for graduates of higher schools—the range of possibilities for fulfilling it has been considerably expanded; in line with the notion of the Army's nonpolitical character, professional soldiers cannot be members of political parties, organizations, and associations; professional soldiers who are deputies or senators or are nominated to leading state positions are granted a leave of absence from the Army for their term of office without the right to wear the uniform or military insignia.

Government Presents Socioeconomic Policy for 1992

LD1012235191 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—On Tuesday [10 December] the outgoing government sent to the Sejm (lower house) assumptions of the socio-economic policy for 1992.

As regards the economic policy, the document assumes halting recession alongside continuing the basic elements of the stabilisation programme, including curbing inflation and maintaining the convertibility of the zloty. It also proposes supporting competetiveness, pro-export orientation of the economy and an increase in spendings on social insurances, financing of housing construction and debt servicing and a related necessity of sharp cuts in subsidies and expenses of the budgetary sector.

With regard to the financial system it says that the reform of the taxation system should continue, the introduction of personal income tax and value added tax among new ventures. Also, changes should be made faster in the banking system and supervisory services should be strengthened.

The document points to the need for faster privatisation and setting up a special body to deal with it.

As concerns foreign economic relations, stress is put on a stable tariff policy, protection of domestic market against unfair competitors, better use of foreign credits, providing for inflow of foreign capital and introduciton of ec norms, standards and procedures in economic life.

According to the document the farming policy should support the modernisation of farms by means of granting cheap credits and also stabilise farming market.

As for unemployment, the government suggests that special forms of fighting it be worked out, including retraining, loans and civil works programmes. Among other areas of social policy the government lists the reform of the system of old age and disability pensions and assistance for the poorest groups.

The document is aimed to provide a "strategic background" for the draft budget being prepared by the outgoing council of ministers.

Russian Daily Reports on CPSU Loan Issue

LD1112044191 Warsaw PAP in English 2027 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 10—Quoting sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry, the "MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLETS" daily wrote on Tuesday [10 December] that besides 600,000 dollars found in a safe of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) after the August abortive coup, the former Polish Communist Party (PZPR) had returned at least 0.5 million dollars and 1.5 million zlotys (130 dollars) to their Soviet colleagues.

A special ministerial team set up to seek the CPSU money abroad by diplomatic channels has failed however to find out who is holding the latter sum now, the paper wrote.

According to earlier reports in the Soviet press, Polish Communists borrowed over 1.2 million dollars and 500 million zlotys (over 40,000 dollars) from the Soviet Communist Party in 1990 and later on returned only 600,000 dollars.

Anatoli Smirnov of the Russian Foreign Ministry who headed the CPSU Foreign Department in the past confirmed that the 600,000 dollars undoubtedly had come from the Polish Communist Party. He conveyed the money to the Russian Foreign Ministry, "MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLETS" wrote.

All information on the loan has been conveyed to the Russian Prosecutor's Office which is investigating the issue.

Iliescu Congratulates Moldova's Snegur on Election

AU1012214991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 10 Dec 91

["President Ion Iliescu's Message to Moldova's President Mircea Snegur"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1991—"In our states" says the message, "history has started to synchronize heartbeats. The day when Moldova elected its first president by free vote is the day of the referendum on Romania's Constitution. December 8, 1991 is one of the generous moments when options for building the future of this hard tried people surfaced out of transient party disputes.

We congratulate you, President Snegur and our brothers from beyond the Prut, which made a decisive step from democracy as a yearning to democracy, as a fact. They voted for a president and for a political ideal.

We wish you president, determination and success for the fulfillment of this political ideal. We share with you today's emotion and we wish you to fulfill, by popular support, by cooperation with Romania's sons on the right bank of the Prut, the tasks of the particularly difficult mandate the voters have trusted you."

Foreign Ministry Reports Developments in USSR

AU1112114191 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] The weekly news conference by Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, began today with a statement by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the latest developments in the Soviet Union and with the process of affirming their sovereignty and state independence by the republics that used to be part of the union.

In connection with the latest events, Ambassador Chebeleu said—that is, the meeting in Brest by the presidents of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus, followed by a meeting in Moscow between President Mikhail Gorbachev and the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan—we would like to reaffirm the readiness of the Romanian Government to continue and to develop cooperation with the republics that have achieved their independence.

We attach particular importance to the assumption by the newly independent states and state formations of the responsibility to fulfill the obligations of the Soviet Union at the international level.

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also said: Bearing in mind the right of peoples to self-determination and the latest developments in the Soviet Union, Romania's Government has recognized the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, and the Ukraine, and has established or is to establish diplomatic relations with them. Similarly, Romania's Government has decided to recognize Armenia and Azerbaijan as independent states.

Effect of Ukraine Independence on Relations Viewed

AU1112091691 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 7 Dec 91 p 3

[Florin Diaconu article: "The Ukraine"]

[Text] The recent referendum that was organized in the Ukraine and concluded with the unequivocal victory of the partisans for the complete independence of the republic has already raised (and will continue to raise) a great number of problems regarding: 1. The Ukraine's relations with Moscow (which is regarded as the capital of the Soviet Union); 2. Relations with its neighbors within the Union and outside the Union (mainly the development of relations with Russia, the Republic of Moldova, Poland, and Hungary); 3. Relations with the great powers, and the question: To what extent is the Ukraine willing to agree to become a non-nuclear power?

The special interest granted to the Ukraine so far is due mainly to its very consistent demographic-economic potential and its significant geopolitical position. One should not forget that this position of remarkable strategic importance is doubled by the distribution of important amounts of modern potential for nuclear weapons throughout its territory (more missiles with various ranges than the French and British armies have put together). The likelihood for one of the several possible scenarios for the Ukraine to become a reality depends on an extremely great number of factors whose evolution can neither be controlled rigorously nor precisely foreseen. For example, many things depend on the way in which the Ukraine finds sufficient internal and external resources to ensure a minimum of stability and economic development.

In this respect, one of the trumps that cannot be ignored is its important agricultural areas and mineral resources, which are doubled by its extraction capacities as well as initial and secondary processing capacities. However, it is not very clear to what extent the Ukraine will be able to rapidly overcome the general crisis that marks the functioning of all structures characteristic of the Soviet Union (or maybe of the former Soviet Union). Likewise, for the time being, the prospects for relations with Russia are very uncertain. We believe that in this respect, the appeal launched by the mayor of Leningrad in connection with the possibility of a major conflict between the state interests of the Ukraine and Russia is perfectly normal.

A proof of the fact that the Ukraine is also regarded by others as a major potential factor in complicating the geopolitical games is also the declaration of certain important NATO officials who warn the Ukraine Republic about the need to rapidly and definitively

renounce its nuclear arsenal. The Ukraine's great importance in tomorrow's world political game is also stressed by the subtle position taken by China, which seems already prepared for preferential relations with this partner, which is strategically placed behind the adversary called Russia.

As far as we are concerned, the future evolution of the Ukraine might be of major significance for Romania. This is so because, through the provisions of the peace treaty signed by Romania—under well-known external pressure—at the end of World War II, important territories that rightfully belong to the unitary national Romanian state are now part of the Ukraine. This situation imposes for the Romanian side the endorsement of a political strategy that would finally (and not in the very distant future) lead to the recuperation, exclusively through treaties, of the Romanian territories included now in the republic beyond the Dniester. In this situation, tomorrow might offer us a completely different picture of the treaty concluded with Moscow by President Ion Iliescu because, apart from certain aspects that might not be to Romania's liking, this treaty might be an important instrument of diplomatic-political pressure on the Ukraine. This pressure might become increasingly necessary if we were to face an unfortunate situation again, like in 1919, to confront—and maybe not only at the negotiating table— at the same time both Hungary and the Ukraine.

Ecological Convention Signed With Bulgaria

AU1012214791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1991—"The purpose of my journey to Sofia" said Romanian Minister of Environment Marcian Bleahu, "was the signing of cooperation convention on environmental protection with my Bulgarian counterpart Minister Vasiliev."

As far as the Giurgiu-Ruse area is concerned, the convention aims at institutionalizing a long-term cooperation so as to avoid unpleasant situations in future. For the [word indistinct] the convention stipulates a close cooperation in environment surveillance by concerted measurement routines through joint methods and devices, mutual conveyance of readings and joint decision-making for remedial measures, irrespective of location of the pollution source.

The convention makes provision for scientific cooperation, in various sectors connected to environment protection such as nuclear developments are.

At the same time a protocol was signed in Sofia for the instatement of an intergovernmental joint commission for environment protection.

"We have also agreed on the text of two letters, one to the Council of Europe and the other to the United Nations, which through their PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] and respectively UNEP [United Nations Environmental Protection] programs, had promised their help for a monitoring system to be mounted on either bank of the Danube" added the Romanian environment minister.

Electoral Bureau Reports 77.2% Favor Constitution

AU1012215191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1946 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1991—The latest data offered at 13.00 hrs by the Central Electoral Bureau did not change generally the percentage previously announced. After counting 10,664,024 bulletins, the data show that 77.2 percent of the valid votes were in favor of the new Constitution of Romania, 20.5 per cent were against it, and 2.3 per cent were nullified.

The 8,227,567 votes in favor of the Constitution which were mentioned in the communique of the Central Electoral Bureau at 13.00 hrs represent more than half of the entire electoral body in Romania. The total number of the citizens with the right to vote is 15,824,373.

Stolojan Discusses Prospects of Economic Reform

AU0412145891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/12/1991—A political regime can be swept overnight, and that is what we did on 22 December 1989, but the changing of an economic system requires two basic elements: a legislative framework that takes 2-3 years to be achieved, and institutional structures that may need 3-5 or even 7 years to be set up, Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan remarked in an interview for the daily DIMINEATA.

Speaking of the reform to a market economy, the premier is of the opinion that "the physical structure of a country's economy takes years to be changed, as it involves a particularly complex process." Apart from this, says the premier, Romania has to solve one other difficult problem, of political nature, namely "the eradication of communism, of communist structures, a true cancer of society."

"What worries me most in this transition period," the premier confesses, "is that now, when the new mechanisms we are trying to put in place are still fragile, still in their infancy, we have to cope with shows of irresponsibility, cynicism and devastating selfishness." Such tendencies "cannot be tolerated and the government must show maturity and, even if it has to administer a still budding market economy, the government must harness soaring prices."

The economic reform in Romania, opines the premier, has to be carried out on a background resulting from a true social and political "big bang" that shattered the very basis of economic mechanisms. Therefore the targets have to be reached under the still felt pressure of the social and political tremor that occurred two years ago. It

is unconceivable to completely rule out dephasings in a transition period. Therefore the prime minister sees this country's only chance for overcoming the deadlock in finalizing as soon as possible every necessary link for an established free market economy.

The "fall" of the Romanian economy, assesses the premier, has now reached "the critical level" and any further roll-down could be a strong enough reason for alarm.

All the same, Prime Minister Stolojan is optimistic and predicts that in 1992, the third post-revolution year, "We shall be able to stabilize production and prices, and lay the foundations for economic relaunching over 1993-1994, apt to stop the deterioration of the living standard." Therefore, "Everything depends on the efforts for the stabilization of production."

Asked about the likely politicization of the union movement, Premier Stolojan showed that both the executive and the unions were "in the same boat" and consequently expected to jointly work things out, but also that "things are beginning to move in a positive direction."

Iliescu's Relationship With Roman Examined

AU1012125591 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 4-5 Dec 91 p 1

[Ilie Paunescu article: "The 'Independent' Candidate"]

[Text] We may see an 'independent' Ion Iliescu running in 1992 for the supreme position in the state. This announcement—anticipated by many people—was made some days ago at the BBC by an aide to the president and means, first and foremost, that for the time being Cotroceni does not see any possibility of reassociating with the "national leader" of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

A year ago, when we noted the first fissures in relations between Iliescu and Roman, we were assured by the government—occasionally in an aggressive way—that there was complete harmony between the two FSN men. Today, relations have deteriorated to such an extent that there are ceaseless mutual condemnations, while the disintegration and loss of popularity of the FSN are noted with satisfaction—through a spokesman—by its very founder. At the same time, Mr. Roman never tires of more or less direct attacks on Mr. Iliescu, whom he terms chief of the "conservative" wing of the cryptocommunist formation in power. This spectacle reminds you, as I have said before, not of the conflicts in the leadership of democratic parties, but of the fierce struggle for power between Bolsheviks, the most noteworthy of which ended with the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico. As a matter of fact, Mr. Petre Roman let it be known that he feared for his life.

It would be useless to attempt a discussion on the subject of Mr. Ion Iliescu's "independence." For a lifetime, he has belonged to an international association that one cannot leave, except with the strong character and risks taken by a Boris Yeltsin. To our country's great misfortune, our president comes nowhere near the qualities of the Russian president. He seems to still live with the convictions and the thirst for power (by all means) that were instilled in him before he became mature.

If it is impossible for well-informed people to conceive of an Ion Iliescu freed from everything that makes him a slave to communism, then how credible would his disguise of an independent be for the masses who are completely lacking information. The answer is provided by the enunciation of the problem. Mr. Ion Iliescu's chance of being believed, at least by the most poorly informed people, primarily depends on the extent to which the mass media—especially television—continue to be under his control. Maybe, however, the president will eventually renounce this move; maybe he will not run as an "independent." There is also the possibility of scraping together his own political group or becoming the head of an alliance formed by others.

But how credible would this trust be? Thus, this question once again brings up the importance of television in our political activity. And it brings up the repeated riots in the streets, in the newspaper columns, and everywhere. It is intolerable that the destiny of this country be at the beck and call of a few flunkeys placed at the head of the institution [television] in Dorobanti Street! The problem is not Mr. Iliescu's "independence," but the genuine independence of the television station.

Roman's Cluj Visit Reported 'Full of Mishap'

AU1012163191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Dec 91 p 2

[Virgil Lazar article: "The Securitate Files, Mr. Magureanu, and Mr. Iliescu—Mr. Petre Roman Makes Disclosures..."]

[Text] As you have been informed through former reports, Mr. Petre Roman's visit to Cluj was full of mishap. After the failure of the meeting with students and university teaching staff, Mr. Roman held a news conference with reporters of the local and central press. Cornered by the rapid fire of certain uncomfortable questions, Mr. Roman got nervous and answered in an aggressive and conceited way: "You lack professionalism; you should ask more serious questions; these issues have already been discussed,"—however, even in this heavy atmosphere, that was not hospitable at all, he made certain remarks that are worth mentioning.

I am reporting on them the way they were recorded on a cassette and published in the magazine "NU" ["No"] of Cluj.... In connection with his resignation, Mr. Roman said: "I was in a situation when that miner [Miron Cosma], as a matter of fact a faithless man, meaning that through violence he caused the death of two persons, got to ask for and be granted the resignation of the government... Yes, he asked for it, and not only that, he actually obtained this resignation in an unconstitutional way,

through a document that was signed between him and the president of the country; and moreover, he immediately had the 'blessing' of the presidents of the two Parliament chambers.

The constitutional form—and I repeat: What happened then is a liability for the democratic future of Romania—should have been the following: The government should have come to the Parliament and stated its position; as a result of this, the government should have obtained a no-confidence or a confidence vote, in connection with the government reshuffle, so that the prime minister would have kept his position. However, I was already considered resigned, and the two chambers of the Parliament through the voice of their presidents approved this resignation without any discussions in the Parliament. Ultimately, I could have protested this situation and stayed in office as prime minister until legal action would have begun. What happened there was at variance with the stability of the country."

Asked about the purchase of the cottage in the residential area of Long Island, as it was mentioned by the newspaper "EPOCA" ["The Epoch"] of New York, Mr. Roman—resorting to humor—said that the information is aberrant, and it comes from a magazine that "is controlled by the Securitate, was controlled by it before, and is still being controlled by it." Interesting! How hard had Mr. Roman—when he was still prime minister—tried to assure us that the Securitate, as an institution, disappeared and that all the discredited elements have been eliminated.

Here is the way a lie avenges itself...Mr. Roman connected this campaign to the denigration of his person after his Strasbourg visit "when people became aware of things, namely that those who oppose changes in this country are the Securitate members, activists [of the former Romanian Communist Party], and so on and so forth..." What Mr. Roman forgets to mention every time is that he himself was surrounded in the leadership of the National Salvation Front and in the government by former Romanian Communist Party activists, and they in turn appointed former nomenklatura members to offices of mayors, so that among the people who want to hold back the events are precisely the "top" people in the Front who were "discredited" during the old communist regime.

Regarding yesterday's and today's Securitate, Mr. Roman made a serious statement: "Yes, Mr. Magureanu [head of the Romanian Intelligence Service] is the person who refused to store away the Securitate documents and continued to make use of them. Yes, he is the guilty person. It is clear that Mr. Iliescu can be also partly blamed for the fact that those files have not been stored away." In connection with this basically very serious statement, Mr. Roman also said those files are greatly used. "The entire ROMANIA MARE and the EUROPA newspapers are full of such things...But the real use of those files is made from the background, meaning actions through which people, who feel that they were stained in the past for certain reasons, are now called to account. Unfortunately, this very often happens among reporters, too." Mr. Roman's last remark made us think. We begin to understand better the attitude of certain colleagues with ROMPRES, television, and other dailies, who loudly claim that they are "independent," when in fact it is all political blackmail!

As other moments of Mr. Roman's visit to Cluj, when this news conference ended, it left a bad taste behind, because the questions produced irritation and not only the prime minister was irritated but also Prefect Zanc who, in the middle of the "dialogue" stood up and said "That is it!" The presence of representatives of the public opinion in a country where the practice of democracy is almost zero, is also uncomfortable for those in power!

Federal

Presidency Adopts Decrees as Supreme Commander

LD1012164191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1545 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia, acting in its property of the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, adopted a number of decrees and decisions in Belgrade today, as the Presidency's information service reported.

The released statement gave no details about the adopted decrees and decisions.

The Presidency discussed also some other issues which are in its constitutional jurisdiction, as reported.

The session of the Yugoslav Presidency was attended by Assembly of Yugoslavia President Slobodan Gliborijevic and Chief of the General Staff, Colonel General Blagoje Adzic.

The representatives of the republics of Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina did not participate in the session. The Republic of Slovenia withdrew its representative in the collective state leadership in early November.

Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally proclaimed their secession from Yugoslavia this past summer, and Macedonia, itself, recently sought international recognition.

Economists Urge End to War To Avert 'Disaster'

LD1012180191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1730 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav economic experts at a symposium in Belgrade today called for the soonest possible end of war conflicts in Croatia so as to avert a political, economic and social disaster in the country.

The symposium, traditionally held in the Croatian resort town of Opatija, was attended by around 200 Yugoslav economic experts.

Economists from Slovenia and Croatia failed to attend the symposium. The two Yugoslav republics last summer unilaterally declared independence, unrecognized by the federal authorities in Belgrade.

Professor Mladjen Kovacevic said while opening the symposium that the breaking up of Yugoslavia had destroyed the single Yugoslav market. He said that all those who wanted to stay in Yugoslavia should as soon as possible form a single market, on which a common macroeconomic development policy could be pursued and an anti-inflation programme implemented.

Yugoslavia lost 10 billion dollars in various forms of foreign economic and financial cooperation, as Kovacevic said. He added that the European Community sanctions affected not only Serbia and Montenegro, but had indirect effect on the other republics.

Kovacevic said Yugoslavia's foreign debt due in 1992 should be re-scheduled, as the country's foreign currency reserves slackened to only 3.8 billion dollars.

According to the Yugoslav National Bank (NBJ), Yugoslavia owes 25 billion dollars to foreign countries, including here a principal of 14.6 billion dollars.

The strategy of an open economy and the stabilization policy should be implemented in 1992, as set out at the symposium. Yugoslavia will have a 5,000-10,000 percent inflation and the country's living standard will fall by one-third compared to that in 1989, unless the production drop is stopped, exports increased and the inflation brought to a one-digit percentage, as the economists said.

At another meeting, around 300 directors of Yugoslav firms in Belgrade today set out similar assessments. They urged politicians to observe the economic interests when resolving the Yugoslav state crisis.

Businessmen Urge Lifting of EC Sanctions

LD1012224491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav businessmen demanded on Tuesday [10 December] urgent lifting of European Community economic sanctions, which, although selective, were affecting the population and the economy of the country as a whole.

In a message to all state and political organs operating on Yugoslav territory, more than 300 businessmen from around the country, called on the E.C. to enable a rapprochement of Yugoslavia to the E.C. instead of imposing blockades and sanctions.

From a meeting organized by the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the Yugoslav businessmen said that if the E.C. opened a process of talks on reaching an accord on association it would have a positive effect on the developments towards calming of the situation in Yugoslavia.

The message also demands abolishing all internal blockades and measures disturbing the economy as well as sets out the commitment for the reconstruction of the Yugoslav economic territory.

At another meeting, Oskar Kovac, member of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia commission for economic questions, said the E.C. sanctions have no legal grounds and should not last long.

Kovac, Serbia's delegation member at the talks in The Hague said at traditional consultations of Yugoslav economists, that if the aim of the sanctions was to step up the work of The Hague peace conference then the sanctions should last only until the conference continues.

Dragana Djuric, however, believes that the measures, should such a situation in Yugoslavia persisted, will be applied relentlessly. The most serious consequences will be in the economy of Yugoslavia's largest and smallest republic—Serbia and Montenegro—but also of others, because of their mutual economic dependence.

The goal of the sanctions, according to Mladen Kovacevic who submitted the opening report, was primarily to reduce exports, imports and production, as well as to increase unemployment and social unrest so as to effect replacements of politicians whom the E.C. finds unsatisfactory in the negotiations.

Slovenia

Deputies Call For Confidence Vote in Government

LD1012152991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] At today's session of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly, deputies from several opposition parties called for a vote of confidence in the government in reaction to a series of accusations of an unlawful readjustment of the current budget, the misuse of budgetary funds, the absence of parliamentary control of public finances, and an unfavorable economic situation in Slovenia.

From its introduction two months ago, the Slovene tolar has lost 40 percent of its value. Over the last year the [average] personal income fell from 950 to 230 DM. The Slovene economy has lost almost half of its markets, and there are plans to introduce administrative (?wage) restrictions.

Trade Union Proposes Six Provinces for Republic

92BA0190D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 91 p 8

[Article by D. Draskovic: "A Country With Six States"]

[Text] Ljubljana—On behalf of the Independent Trade Unions of Slovenia, president Rastko Plohl, participating in a discussion about the future constitution, is demanding a polycentric and decentralized alliance of states. According to this proposal, Slovenia would be composed of the six present provinces, or states—Primorska, Dolenjska, Gorenjska, Stajerska [Styria], Koroska, and Pomurje.

Each of the above-mentioned states is supposed to have its own parliament and government, which would decide on all important issues for their own area. The deputies for those six Slovene states would be elected in all the opstinas.

The Independent Trade Unions of Slovenia propose that at the level of the Slovene state, there would be a federal parliament, which would include the same number of representatives from each of the six federal states. The deputies would be professionals, and, in contrast to the present ones, would always have to be available to the voters in their electoral district. That implies that they would have to live in the places in which they campaigned for the federal parliament.

Croatia

Tudjman Letter to Bush Condemns Sanctions

LD1112113191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 11 dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has sent a letter to U.S. President George Bush expressing his displeasure at the fact that the U.S. sanctions against Yugoslavia also apply to Croatia and asking that Croatia be excluded from the sanctions.

"We were unpleasantly surprised at the U.S. sanctions which include Croatia in an unselective move," Tudjman stresses in the letter. He goes on to claim that his republic "is evidently a victim of greater-Serbian aggression."

In the letter, sent yesterday and published in its full version by all Zagreb newspapers today, Tudjman says that "the U.S. decision to apply economic sanctions unselectively against all the republics of former Yugoslavia will seriously affect both the political and the economic interests of Croatia."

At the same time, Franjo Tudjman asks the U.S. President "to do everything possible to stop the war and the further suffering of the civilian population" claiming that Croatia "has fulfilled all the obligations" assumed at The Hague conference and in Geneva.

In his letter to Bush, Tudjman expresses the belief that the U.S. President will do his utmost "to help resolve the crisis and the war in former Yyugoslavia and until this is done he will annul the decision to apply economic sanctions against Croatia as well."

14th Cease-Fire 'Observed on the Whole'

LD1012133491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1129 GMT 10 Dec 91

["Croatia: Ceasefire Observed on the Whole"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—Warfronts in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia were more peaceful last night and this morning than they had been in the past weeks. TANJUG's correspondents on the fronts report that only sporadic shots were heard.

TANJUG reports that the Western Slavonia front spent a peaceful night. A statement issued by the command of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Banja Luka corps says that there were no operations.

The military statement says that the Army is holding the positions taken earlier. The statement stresses that more and more soliders who had left positions during the past few days are returning to their units.

It does not specify the number of the soldiers or when they had left their positions, and only curtly says that they had "yielded to propaganda."

TANJUG's correspondent quotes military sources to the effect that the cease-fire is holding on the Dubrovnik front and in Hercegovina.

According to reports coming in from the JNA press centre at Trebinje, headquarters of the JNA command for Dubrovnik, Croatia is continuing to arm the civilians in the Nevertva River Valley, and the guard and the police are being reinforced.

Croatian radio, which is bound by the Croatian presidential decree on censorship, reports that Osijek, the centre of the Western Slavonia region, had had a peaceful night but that artillery shells were dropping on the town in the morning. No casualties have been reported.

Military sources have reported nothing this morning about developments around Osijek and the surrounding countryside.

Under a decree issued by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Branimir Glavas has been appointed commander of the defence of Osijek, it has been announced today. Three days before taking office, another Croatian presidential decree had promoted Glavas to the rank of colonel in the Croatian Army.

Military Sources: 2 Prisoner Exchanges Postponed

LD1012214791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2114 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The exchange of prisoners at Kamensko and Zemunika agreed for today did not take place, it has been learned from military sources. According to these sources the exchange did not take place because the Croatian side had not complied with the signed agreement.

For instance 399 Yugoslav People's Army membes were to be exchanged at Kamensko, but the Croatian side only brought 329 people to be exchanged.

It has been agreed that the swap will be carried out on 11 and 12 December.

'Aggressors' Stage 'Fierce' Otocac, Gospic Attacks

LD1012134391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] After a relatively quiet night, Otocac residents have been exposed to yet another fierce attack by Serbian aggressors, who have been pounding the area from their strongholds with multiple rocket launchers, mortars, howitzers, and tanks since 1030 this morning. The people are in shelters. In addition to the Croatian defenses in Otocac, missiles have been hitting the Croatian villages of Sinac, Covici, Prozor, and Canak. Our forces returned fire. No casualty reports have been available so far. Explosions can still be heard in the area. Peace overnight and this morning on the battlefronts around Gospic was interrupted at about 1100 by the army of occupation and Serbian terrorists. Our positions in Stari Licki Osik and Musaluk have been pounded with heavy artillery, tanks, and howitzers. The attack continues.

Foreign Minister Separovic Views Border Issue

92BA0186A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by Aleksa Crnjakovic: "No Bargaining on Borders"]

[Text] Zagreb—It is hard to believe that peacekeeping forces of the United Nations will soon reach Croatia however exceedingly desirable that would be for this war-torn republic. But regardless of when they arrive, they will not come to confirm the occupation of Croatian territory, but, on the contrary, to guarantee withdrawal of the aggressor, who intended to alter boundaries by force and take away the land of others. Croatia will not consent to any talks on changing borders; it will not bargain with the aggressor on its historical territories.

This clear position was stated in the regular press conference by Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, after his return from a successful and intensive diplomatic trip that took him to Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. In the numerous talks that the Croatian minister had with prestigious European politicians, the dominant questions were those of war and peace, sending peacekeeping forces into war-torn Croatia, sending humanitarian aid, the sanctions that the world will take in order to work toward a resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, but at the same time without punishing the victim. It is a fact that the world sympathizes with Croatia, that it is even helping in specific ways. Certain countries, for example, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, are quite specifically condemning and naming Serbia and the Army as the aggressor. Unfortunately, all those measures and all that aid have not stopped the aggressor, so that the issue of international recognition of the Republic of Croatia has decisive importance.

Delegalization of the Former Yugoslavia

In presenting the views of the various countries concerning resolution of the crisis, Dr. Separovic emphasized that there are certain differences among the countries which he visited. They hold in common the position that the right of peoples to self-determination must be respected and that borders must not be changed. Austria

is the leader in the initiative for recognition of Croatia, while certain Czechoslovak politicians have taken the amazing position that Slovenia should be recognized, but not together with Croatia, arguing that it does not control its entire territory and that it still is not issuing guarantees that it will respect the rights of minorities. Dr. Separovic responded that it is precisely Croatia's recognition that would speed up restoration of establishment of authority over all Croatian territory, and as far as rights are concerned, then Croatia will very quickly guarantee them, even by law. The assessment of Minister Separovic is that Germany will take decisive steps toward recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, and the German parliament is to debate this within a matter of days. Dr. Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, who was invited to Bonn on 5 November, has been thinking about reassessing the position of his diplomats in Belgrade, which, Dr. Separovic said, would essentially be a continuation of the process of delegalization of the former Yugoslavia.

A Protectorate Does Not Come Under Consideration

The journalists at the conference were nevertheless most interested in the sending of the peacekeeping forces, where they would be placed, how long they would remain, and would this limit Croatian sovereignty by imposing a kind of protectorate? Dr. Separovic removed such fears.

"Establishment of a protectorate in the sense of limiting sovereignty of Croatian space does not come under consideration. The basic precondition for the peacekeeping forces to come to Croatia at all is the establishment of peace, that is, a cease-fire, because the peacekeeping forces do not wish to be drawn into the military conflict, nor will they. Then comes withdrawal of federal units from the garrisons, and then from all of Croatian territory. The next step is withdrawal of the forces of the Croatian army from the war-torn crisis areas, because upon the arrival of the peacekeeping forces they become unnecessary, and the regular police forces would maintain order," Dr. Separovic stated very explicitly and clearly. The minister added that the deployment of the peacekeeping forces must be such as to guarantee preservation of the present borders and reestablishment of full territorial sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia over its historical and constitutional space.

"We immediately distanced ourselves from those positions that speak of some sort of dual borders, those historical borders, and those which have been 'established' by imperial aggression. There is only one border," the foreign minister explained to the foreign newsmen.

Games With Dubrovnik

Dubrovnik, that is, certain "agitation" concerning that city, was also mentioned in the conference. Dr. Separovic agreed that there have been games being played over Dubrovnik on the principle that if that Croatian city cannot be captured, if Montenegro cannot create some expanded Montenegro that would include Dubrovnik, and thereby go all the way to Peljesce and Korcula on the one hand and the Neretva on the other, then that city should be internationalized, it should be made a "world city," that is, a city-state should be created. Even Havel and Kucan, Dr. Separovic said, involuntarily became a party to aspirations of that kind, which are alien to Croatia, when they appealed for the rescue of Dubrovnik. It is not just a question of the tragedy of Dubrovnik, he said, but of the tragedy of an entire people and an entire state. Dubrovnik is a Croatian city. It is only as such that it can thereafter be a world city. Dr. Separovic explained that he was personally against any sort of negotiations with the Montenegrins over Prevlaka or any other part of the Croat-Montenegrin border, by contrast with some people who went to Titograd for talks. If there are talks, Separovic says, then Kotor Bay should also be put on the table. Dubrovnik will not regain its freedom through negotiations, especially in a situation when that city has lost its entire natural environment. The creation of a corridor around Dubrovnik, Separovic was again completely clear, can be accepted only as a measure to preserve the peace, as a barrier to the Serb-Montenegrin hordes, not as a measure that would create some kind of international oasis.

Historic Summit Meeting

An almost historic summit meeting of the EC, which instead of a conference on Europe could be turned into a conference on Yugoslavia, was also mentioned in the conference. It is expected, in Dr. Separovic's judgment, that there will also be talk about sending peacekeeping forces to our country, about sanctions, perhaps even about severing trade ties with Serbia and Montenegro, and perhaps there will even be debate of recognition of the independence of the two republics, Croatia and Slovenia, although there is some question whether the countries of the EC will manage to reach consensus.

On several occasions, the foreign minister assured the foreign newsmen that Croatia is fully ready to recognize all human and other rights of minorities, in keeping with all European and international standards. A law is now being drafted that would sanction those rights in legal form, and by adopting The Hague declaration Croatia also said what it thought about this problem. It has consented, then, to guarantee minorities all rights, but it is demanding reciprocity in this respect, that is, that the rights of Croats and Hungarians in Serbia, Albanians in Kosovo, and other minorities in Croatia be recognized, not just those of the Serbian minority. It was a great success for Croatian diplomacy when it managed to have omitted from The Hague document the provision that the rights pertain only to Serbs in Croatia, just as it was a success that The Hague document no longer contains the right to dual citizenship. Human rights and the right of the minorities must be treated universally, because that is what they are.

Colonel Agotic on Negotiations With JNA

92BA0183A Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 26 Nov 91 p 6

[Interview with Croatian negotiator Colonel Imra Agotic by Zoran Senkovic; place and date not given: "Croatian Negotiator With Nerves of Steel"]

[Excerpts] What Imra Agotic says about General Raseta, Vukovar, Dubrovnik, the Army's primitivism, his personal safety....

Zagreb, 26 Nov—One of the best known faces of the Croatian war is undoubtedly negotiator Colonel Imra Agotic, a member of the military leadership (the staff) of the Croatian Army, who tries every day to reach an agreement with his former employers on a withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Croatian territory. He has a number of military schools behind him, but Imra Agotic also received a master's degree at the Zagreb School of Political Sciences, and all of that knowledge was an indication to President Tudjman that with Colonel Agotic's coming to the Croatian Army, he would obtain an almost ideal person for negotiations with the Yugoslav Army. Reaching Colonel Agotic is not easy, of course. Attempts to coordinate the withdrawal and the search for a free hour or two for talks took 14 days. On Saturday [23 November] morning, he was finally able to receive me in his office at the military complex somewhere in the wooded part of Zagreb, on Tuškanac. He was no different than in his statements after every round of the anything but easy negotiations with General Raseta—calm, relaxed, and clear.

[Senkovic] I asked him if he had ever thought that he would start his diplomatic career through negotiations with an Army representative.

[Agotic] No, never. I want to work in diplomacy under normal circumstances, once all of this slaughter ends. The times, however, are such that I had to undertake this work, although I was surprised that the president of the republic entrusted me with this task, with not exactly a lot of time for any serious preparations. What I am doing can hardly be called real diplomacy, but in any case, for a soldier, which is what I am by profession, it is an extremely good introduction for possibly doing such work later on. Beginning talks with an enemy whom you are also facing on the battlefield.... But this is also one of the contributions in achieving our common goal—victory. [passage omitted]

When He Lacks Arguments

[Senkovic] What sort of negotiator is General Raseta?

[Agotic] I have been asked that several times; people have sought a psychological portrait of him from me. He is a person who received a certain assignment and is now trying to carry it out. We have almost never been in a situation (there have not really been any private talks) in which I was able to see inside him and determine what he really thinks about all this. I think, however, that he nevertheless does not always think the way his assignment dictates, and that it would be possible to reach some sort of a compromise with him, if he did not have the kind of assignment that he does, of course, have. I became angry at your colleagues from GLOBUS, who used the title "He Trumpets Stupidities and Talks a Lot of Hot Air." They took that from a casual conversation of mine, which was not even an answer to a question. One should not discredit a person with whom we are negotiating that way—and we also want negotiations ourselves. In the end, however, it has been shown to a great extent that there is also some truth in such an assessment.

Specifically, it is characteristic of him that whenever he lacks arguments, he resorts to demagogic phrases, slogans, but not in a political sense; instead, he uses broad characterizations, random chattering, just to pass the time. It is not easy for him, since he does not have arguments, unlike me. I do not need to invent arguments during the negotiations, since they impose themselves and offer themselves.

In the negotiations, he acts from a position of strength, not in the sense of raising his voice or pounding on the table, but rather from the awareness that he is speaking on behalf of an enormous military power with which Croatia is in conflict. If he cannot convince me or the European observers, he will find a way to tell us, "Accept it, or you will have war, casualties, devastation."

[Senkovic] Then he is a hard negotiator, who does not show even for an instant that there are cases when the Army has really trampled over even the minimum of humanity.

[Agotic] He conceals his feelings quite well. I do not know if he is like that in private life, but when the negotiations start, he quickly and effectively puts on the mask of an impassive negotiator. Admittedly, on several occasions, he has formally regretted the human casualties and material destruction, but always with the comment, "You did this and that, and that is why we are doing this and that to you." I do not have the sense that he feels any sincere regret inside.

This Time It Should Be Different

[Senkovic] You already have one agreement behind you, on the army's withdrawal from the territory that is under Croatia's control. Aren't you afraid that those units, which are now relatively passive, will be sent to the front again, just as it happened after the agreements on withdrawal from cities, after which the cities, for instance, Osijek, Karlovac, Sinj... were bombarded from a safe distance?

[Agotic] This agreement is different from the others. In the first place, it was reached at this level of negotiations. As you know, the higher level is The Hague, and the lower level is the local one. You are right when you mention the cases of the withdrawal from cities, followed by their being bombarded. Those, however, were local

agreements, of which it is characteristic, despite all the understanding of the local authorities that they wanted to remove the army from the cities, that they were feeble and without guarantees. In this case, it is a withdrawal under the supervision of European observers outside Croatian territory, to areas that will not be closer than 20 kilometers from the Croatian border. The observers, who declare that they have enough people, are monitoring the withdrawal, the deployment of these units, and their further activity. The same is true of the withdrawal of the Rijeka corps, most of which has left for Bar, and right now the European observers are setting up an inspection point there for supervising the equipment and people. It is a beginning. Now it is the turn of the units on the battlefields. In view of past experience and the enemy, however, anything is still possible.

[Senkovic] Negotiations are delicate work. It is necessary to put together a countless number of small parts. A master feels satisfaction when the whole thing lies before him. Did you feel satisfaction after the agreement that was concluded?

[Agotic] No, unfortunately not, since I could only feel satisfaction if the agreement was also completely carried out. That has hardly happened. If you recall, most of the agreements have been concluded for a cease-fire or the organization of humanitarian assistance. You know yourself how it has all ended up so far. [passage omitted]

One should not expect that things will be better, that there will not be a number of violations, greater or lesser deceptions and lies, until a political agreement has been reached at a higher level, in the Hague, on recognition of Croatia as a sovereign, independent state. When that political basis has been achieved, it also will be easier to settle the technical issues for implementing the agreements that we are discussing at this level in Zagreb. To be sure, the withdrawal agreement is not favorable to Croatia, since it permits the withdrawal of units with all their weapons and equipment, but it is showing the international public once again that Croatia is prepared to settle disputes peacefully. We do not harbor any illusions that the army will cease establishment of the borders of Greater Serbia, and that there will not be any more transfers of units, but from now on the world will also have to take a clearer position with respect to Croatia and Serbia and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army].

[Senkovic] Friday's [22 November] agreement is substantially different from the statements of the highest Croatian political and military authorities, for instance, a month ago, when a withdrawal without heavy weapons was being discussed.

We Deliberately Retreated From Our Demands

[Agotic] It really is a qualitative, or substantive, jump. First of all, we demanded the withdrawal of the forces that had been brought to Croatian battlefields, because we thought that it was the quickest way out of the crisis. We still think so today. Nevertheless, when we determined that the European political level for settling disputes was not yet ripe for such a method, we consented to a different sequence. The army rejected a proposal that the heavy weapons would remain under the control of European observers. Above all, The Hague document permitted the withdrawal of the Army with all of its weapons. We deliberately retreated from our demands. The result is Friday's agreement, which cannot show Europe any more clearly that we are willing to cooperate and reach an agreement. It is now Europe's turn.

[Senkovic] Would it be easier for you to negotiate if you had as an argument bigger military successes by the Croatian forces, in which case you would have in your hands the argument of strength, just as General Raseta always does?

[Agotic] Any argument is welcome, even if it is the argument of strength. On the Croatian side we have all the arguments, unfortunately with the exception of that one; but we have also been creating it. We have been creating it for all these months. In spite of some mistakes, we have reached a stage at which Croatia cannot experience a military defeat, and the authorities can sleep more peacefully, since now the destruction of the authorities, one of the first and principal goals of the aggression, is no longer feasible. The second one, establishment of the borders of Greater Serbia, is no longer feasible either, not just because of the political atmosphere, but also because of the military strength that Croatia possesses. With a cancellation of the arms embargo, Croatia would soon have that argument as well; but I think that the arguments we have are more acceptable to the world. They are somewhat slower, and there are also more casualties, but at any rate they are stronger than naked force. Obviously, this is the price that we have to pay for our independence. I cannot help expressing great satisfaction with the fact that Slovenia paid a very small price for its freedom and independence.

Accusations Are Not Justified

[Senkovic] The Army has taken aim at Osijek. Does Vukovar's fate await it?

[Agotic] I have sentimental ties to Osijek, since I spent part of my youth in it and consequently I hope very much that that will not happen. I agree with the assessment by the head of Osijek's defense, Colonel Gorinski, that the army will not aim immediately at a direct penetration into the city, but will instead encircle it. One should be aware, however, that the Army also can no longer keep its former pace. Its losses at Vukovar were terrible, and it will hardly be able to afford one more blockade like that, especially since it missed more favorable weather conditions because of Vukovar.

[Senkovic] One cannot avoid questions about Vukovar.

[Agotic] There have been a lot of accusations among the public about insufficient assistance to Vukovar. Most of them are unjustified. Assistance kept coming up until the very end. There was too little, since in the end we had to withdraw. We did not defend Vukovar just in the city, however. All of eastern Slavonia defended it; every village in which battles took place, from Osijek to Vinkovci and Zupanja, absorbed part of the armed

forces, but extraordinary military strength was concentrated in a small area—an elite guard division, two battalions, Cetnik forces, artillery, the air force, and the river fleet. At least 170,000 very different shells landed on Vukovar alone, many of them from the Serbian side of the Danube, to which we were unable to respond.

This does not mean that there were no mistakes. A special commission and time will show who made a mistake and where, but personally I am not in favor of trials and vengeance. Let us not forget that according to some criteria, an army can be prepared for effective combat in three years, but we had 10 times less time available, and we started from nothing. Everyone in Vukovar and the vicinity demonstrated extraordinary courage and resourcefulness, and the Army broke its teeth in that part of Croatia.

At that time, when the blockade could have been effectively broken three months ago, Croatia simply did not have enough strength, especially since the enemy was opening up new fronts along hundreds of kilometers, but we were forced to organize the defense at local levels, and in some places people were making weapons just as in the period of hand production. If we had had then what we have now, then we could have kept defending Vukovar.

[Senkovic] And successfully defended it?

[Agotic] It is hard to say.

Barbarism

[Senkovic] In this war, we are witnessing a terrible devastation of civilian installations.

[Agotic] That is what bothers me, and I have told the opposing side in these negotiations a great many times, "If we have to fight, let us do it in a more civilized way, even though there is no civilized war. Let us shoot at military targets, units; do not bombard hospitals, schools, churches. You are thereby demonstrating your primitivism and a desire to destroy people, not just physically, but also their souls. That is barbarism."

The case of Dubrovnik is like that. A professional soldier simply cannot understand the bombardment of Dubrovnik, in which we do not have even a battalion of organized forces. It has to do with ideological blindness, a conviction that you can commit even the worst atrocities in the name of some imaginary Yugoslavia. Most of the remaining officer corps in the JNA are slaves of an ideology that has failed, and Europe still does not understand this. It does not understand that we are also fighting here for the preservation of its democracy, its way of life and thought. That is why sooner or later, if the war does not end soon, it will have to help us.

Serbia

President Milosevic Warns Against Fascism

AU1012153891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, at the ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the uprising in Serbia, in the Army Hall in Belgrade on 10 December—recorded]

[Text] Half a century ago, Serbia embarked on a great battle against fascism, the greatest evil that loomed over Europe and the world at that time. In that terrible year of 1941, it appeared as if fascism were going to stop history and liquidate humanity. At the same time, it looked as if it were the force that only the insane would oppose. Looking from the point of view of that time, in 1941 Serbia acted as if it were insane. It stood up against the greatest power of its time, the great Third Reich, against its terrible armies throughout Europe, and against the Nazi outposts in its own country.

This uprising was supposed to have been crushed in blood in a matter of a few short days, in a matter of a few terrible nights, as often happens in history when the small rebel against the big and mighty, only to be crushed before they even enter a real battle.

However, this did not happen to the uprising in small Serbia. Together with the uprising of other Yugoslav peoples, it transformed itself into a great four-year struggle against the occupier and domestic traitors. From the first day, this battle was part of the anti-fascist movement in Europe and the world, which fought a long and difficult battle, but finally managed to defeat fascism with joint forces and come out as the victor of World War II.

This victory against fascism, against the greatest violence, and the greatest insanity of the 20th century is today, and will remain, forever part of the brightest and the most brilliant pages of the history of humanity, which will steel future generations for battles against new injustices, against some future inhumanity.

This struggle against fascism is still remembered today and is celebrated all over the world, all over Europe, in every country, by all nations, and by all families that have experienced or understood the horrors of the fascist assault on nations and people, on human intelligence, and on man in general. We believed that all countries have deeply buried fascist forces in the past that everyone wants to forget, although they should in fact be still remembered so the situation does not happen again. If there is anything that contemporary humanity should not allow to come back, to repeat itself, then it is

certainly fascism. Among all the specters of the past, fascism is the darkest, the most horrible specter, a specter that history would never forgive to those who revive it or allow it to return.

However, the specter of fascism is unfortunately knocking on our door. Today, it is difficult to admit that fascism stands a chance of revival in this country that was among the first to heroically stand up against it, the country that defeated it, that has remembered it for 50 years with disgust, the country that we believed would never forgive it any of its victims. This is why these absurd indications of fascism in our country are difficult to explain. It is not my job to do this here. Our task is to see the danger we face and to defeat it.

Therefore, instead of celebrating half a century of uprising and the struggle against fascism in 1991, and admiring the heroism of the first and the greatest fighters against it, we are, unfortunately, compelled to warn with disgust and pain against the danger of its rehabilitation. These are historic absurdities and historic injustices that are difficult to accept and that cannot be comprehended at all by those generations that fought against fascism and that today, instead of celebrating, are afraid and mobilizing again, that is to say, mobilizing their children and grandchildren for a struggle that they fought in the past so that their children and grandchildren could live peacefully in freedom.

We believed that Serbia had no more urgent task this year than to engage all its forces to work on economic and cultural prosperity and to create a richer and more humane society than the one we had in the past. We were prepared everywhere in our republic to totally devote ourselves to this aim, above all to realize the program of economic development. Unfortunately, circumstances have led us to different difficulties that were imposed on us, to a struggle with the forces that are destroying both Serbia and Yugoslavia, forces that are reviving a world that died a long time ago.

These forces are dark, conservative forces that we believed had disappeared from the scene of history in the world and in our country. Unfortunately they are here, they are threatening to restore everything Serbia stood against a half a century ago, something almost all citizens of Serbia are against today.

Therefore, we do not have other choice but, like half a century ago, to stop them, and then, as soon as possible, return to the enormous work that we should accomplish on the economic revival of Serbia. In the name of this, and wishing economic development and the raising of the standard of living to become our biggest and only worry in Serbia again, I greet you all cordially once again. [applause]

Opposition Parties Unite To Overthrow Communism

LD1012132891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1118 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 10 (TANJUG)—Opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia have announced that they would appear jointly in the future and that an end of war and overthrow of communism were their priority tasks.

Leaders of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the Democratic Party, the People's Peasant Party and the Liberal Party reached agreement on this at a roundtable talk marking an anniversary of Serbia's first multi-party parliamentary elections in December last year.

Opposition parties then won 56 of the 250 seats to the republican parliament.

The discussion was organized by Serbia's strongest opposition party, the SPO, and the Serbian Youth Renewal Movement.

The opposition strongly criticized Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS). Speaking of the supporters of his policy, it showed the least understanding for the Serbian Orthodox Church.

SPO leader Vuk Draskovic said that Serbia no longer existed because it was "under coercive rule by a foreign army—the Yugoslav communist Army," despite the fact that "its members are mostly honest people."

Draskovic also announced the formation of a shadow cabinet by mid-January.

Vice President of the Democratic Party Vojislav Kostunica pointed out that all acceptable means would be used in overthrowing the current regime because there can be no democracy as long as the communists are in power. He accused the Serbian president of pushing the country and the people "into an abyss and the past."

Leader of the People's Peasant Party Dragan Veselinov said that the SPS was in power owing to Milosevic's "war charisma." He believes that war suits only the Army, which has "created its own state within Yugoslavia" with Milosevic's help.

Veselinov urged that Serbia be proclaimed an independent and sovereign state, and that it be the first to recognize the Republic of Croatia after that. Adding that Serbia should also recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Veselinov pointed out that a new Yugoslav union, initially based on a customs union, could then be offered to all.

Leader of the Serbian Liberal Party Nikola Milosevic urged that the opposition abandon the Serbian parliament and begin a struggle for power by using nonparliamentary means. He called senior clerics of the Serbian Orthodox Church to repent for their supporting Milosevic.

Reservists Call on Soldiers To Return From Front

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[Text] Belgrade, December 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army reservists and parents of Army servicemen in a number of towns in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia have called that their fellow-soldiers and sons return from the front in the Republic of Croatia and that they not be sent there again.

Protest rallies were held on Monday [9 December] in Belgrade and another two major Serbian towns, Kraljevo and Kragujevac.

Members of the families of Belgrade reservists demanded from the Yugoslav Army general staff that their sons and husbands be replaced after 90 days on the front.

The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that a group of members of the families of reservists and servicemen was received at the general staff after blocking traffic outside the general staff headquarters in one of Belgrade's busiest streets.

The parents threatened that they would themselves go to take their sons home unless they are replaced by December 25, and called a new rally for next Monday.

BORBA writes that "the parents were not satisfied with the promise that the army will most probably begin withdrawing from crisis areas in Croatia within a week."

A group of Kragujevac reservists, currently on leave after two months on battlefronts in Croatia, demanded that their entire unit be replaced.

The reservists expressed readiness to return to the front after two months, if need be.

Over 1,000 reservists who have been repeatedly called up protested in Kraljevo on Monday.

Following talks with Serbian assistant defence minister, Colonel Mladen Kovacevic and local officials, it was decided that a group of reservists immediately leave for Belgrade and hold talks at the command of the first Army district on how to secure that mobilization be carried out evenly.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Comments on Hague 'Informal' Talk

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[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, at Sarajevo Airport on 9 December—recorded]

[Text] As you know, this was an informal talk, [words indistinct] meeting that Carrington obviously called to see whether there has been any development of the stances of the individual delegations in the meantime, under the influence of events that have taken place. Personally, I do not know what his conclusions were, but I noticed no change in the stances of individual delegations.

The talks, including the working lunch, lasted more than two and a half hours. We all presented our views of the situation [word indistinct]. What is perhaps important is that the peace conference will certainly continue.

As is known, The Netherlands foreign affairs minister will step down as chairman of the EC on 1 January and, as far as I know, this post will be occupied by the Portuguese foreign minister; therefore the future meetings may perhaps be transferred from The Hague to Geneva or [words indistinct].

What else can I say? We all commented on the report by the Arbitration Commission publicized [word indistinct] (?two-three days ago). Serbia [word indistinct] and Montenegro expressed significant reservations about this report, while the four of us—Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia—mainly supported the report. As you know, this is a report by a five-member Arbitration Commission. As is known, this report above all dealt with the problem of whether what is involved in Yugoslavia, this [word indistinct] for the independence of the republics, whether it is secession or dissolution, that is, breaking up Yugoslavia into its constituent parts. As is known, (?Babintaire's) commission—this man is heading this commission (?all the time), he is French—has adopted the view that what is involved is the dissolution of Yugoslavia from which an important conclusion can be drawn, and that is that not individual republics, but all of them are entitled to be successors to Yugoslavia.

Acting on behalf of Bosnia-Hercegovina, I supported the stances contained in the [word indistinct] which, as I said, [words indistinct].

By the way, after this I had a separate conversation, some (?40)-minutes long, with [word indistinct] Lord Carrington, independently of this joint meeting. We examined the specific situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Lord Carrington was, as [words indistinct], very well informed about our problems.